

GRAPPLING WITH THE RCMP TRAGEDY

# MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | [www.macleans.ca](http://www.macleans.ca)

MARCH 21 2005

A close-up, slightly grainy portrait of Karla Homolka. She has short, light-colored hair and is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. Her eyes are light-colored. The background is dark and out of focus.

KARLA  
HOMOLKA

## GIRL NEXT DOOR

She's out in July. She could  
be your new neighbour.  
Should she be controlled?

BY CHARLIE GILLIS

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IT WAS LIKE NOTHING WE'D EVER EXPERIENCED BEFORE.

But I'm getting ahead of myself. Like most Saturday's we wake early. I start out the day as emergency traffic runs. We waded through the pile of yesterday papers, finally getting to Saturday. I realized we had a play we liked. At a place called Theatre in the Woods. sounded different. We called to make reservations. A guy named Julian told us they only play to five couples at a time and we were the fifth. He served a \$45.00, but we were up for an adventure. Next we had a few hours to run. Between last night's movies, Check. Pick up the carpets from the cleaners. Check. Buy vegetables and armchair chicken from the Farmer's market. Check. We were eager to leave the city behind for the sky so we hit the highway early. We drove with the windows down, fresh air and sunlight was warming away the work week. Stopped at a garage sale. Picked up a master oak rocking chair. Stopped at a village market. Picked up the best butter taste ever. Stopped to take photos of an ancient collapsed barn. Finally after passing 15 towns there, we found the house our Julian had described. We followed the narrow dirt road as it ended through trees. The sun was almost down and we were getting a bit scared. we had to walk in the darkness.



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MACLEAN'S

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to the four sides of the page.

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## MACLEAN'S BEHINDTHESCENES



### SHOPPING FOR THE RIGHT UNIVERSITY

Would you invest thousands of dollars on a hunch? On your teenager's whims? Never before has a university education been as expensive, never has it been so critical to an individual's future prosperity. And so, never has it been more important to do some serious homework before choosing a post-secondary destination.

When it comes to making an informed decision, no source is more respected than the bestselling Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities. The 10th annual edition—the largest and most comprehensive ever—offers 250 pages of essential information, from a 78-page directory of entrance scholarships to profiles of 67 diverse institutions across the country. "We work hard to create the most definitive resource possible," says Ann Dowsett Johnston, editor of the guide and winner of five National Magazine Awards for her work.

For the first time ever, the guide includes the Maclean's University Graduate Survey: more than 12,000 recent grads rate their experience at their alma maters—both in class and beyond. As well, the guide features the voices of current undergrads in Campus Confidential, letting them hold court on what's hot and what's not at their school.

Meanwhile, there is a residence report, a financial planner, the Maclean's University rankings, plus a list of internships, co-op options and popular programs at each university. "Above all," says Dowsett Johnston, "the guide offers a window into a world of opportunities."

Help shape what's inside Maclean's by registering as a member of the Maclean's Advisory Panel at [www.macleans.ca/tp](http://www.macleans.ca/tp). For further information about this article, contact [tp@scmp.com](mailto:tp@scmp.com).

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'It astounds me that most of the news media isn't sounding alarms about the fiscal condition of the U.S. Thank you for speaking out.' —Ronald McNaughton, Tallahassee, Fla.

### Good money after bad

It's been a long time since a magazine article has called me to the bone, but *Maclean's* ("Is America going broke?" [Cover, March 7]) managed to do so. It is frightening to realize that the entire world economy balanced on teetering, though it is getting nearer to toppling. The U.S. government really needs to pull its head out of the sand, get its teeth and take the hard road of balancing the budget at the expense of those pointed tax cuts. Otherwise, we will all end up paying for it.

Ang Qiu, Toronto

"Is America going broke?" exhibited that annoying Canadian habit of reading U.S. problems as worse in order to trigger feelings of inadequacy. Of the US\$87.9-trillion American government debt you cite, US\$83.3 trillion is owed to the U.S. government in the form of various trust funds. Canada's debt is declining rapidly while we face few of the main decade funding shortfalls the U.S. does. However, with a personal savings rate of zero per cent and record consumer debt, Canadians must be cautious in boasting about economic virtue. Jim Wilson, Washington, D.C.

"If the U.S. sinks, Canada will go down with it." I found this statement on your cover a little startling, to say the least. Come on, people! I understand that America is a little more than just the country south of us, but are we that close-out that it's dug itself a huge hole, we're destined to fall in, too? Canada has a strong economy that doesn't solely rely on what's going on in the U.S. I hope only that Americans can bounce back, but the sooner Canadians realize that we aren't the 51st state, the better off we'll be.

Scott Morrison, Whitby, Ont.

You wrote an excellent article. When I look at the spending habits and lifestyles of my fellow citizens, I wonder if they fully understand the gravity of the problem. Bert Burrell, Oakville, Ont.



### On going ballistic

As a Grade 10 student following the news of ballistic missile defence, I don't think Canada has been winning a lot of friends in Washington lately ("Martin dodges the American's 'missile system,'" Up Front, March 7). Since 2001, we have disagreed on the Iraq war, been experts, software lumber and now... But the questions are, can Canada really bring a point of missile defense? My biggest concern is one you raised: the Prime Minister is just presenting his precarious minority government.

Anna Benders, Toronto

### Defining church authority

In your report "Anglican?" (Up Front, March 7), you say the Anglican Church of Canada and the American Episcopal branch were asked by conservative bishops upset by their stand on gay rights to withdraw from the governing council of Anglican churches. They were not. They were instructed to withdraw, for a period of three years, from the Anglican Consultative Council. The council has no governing powers but was set up to, among other things, facilitate the co-operative work of member Anglican churches.

Charles Chapman, London, Ont.

### Club, club: Will Canada manage to stay afloat in a tanking U.S. economy?

Well said in *Maclean's* cover story on the economy with much of the information treated with some 20/20 hindsight. Still, we were apprised that the U.S. is going down the tubes, maybe we should encourage foreign investors to park their money in Canada, it is safe haven.

I understand that Canada is a new entry in Washington these days. That the U.S. administration is deeply concerned about securitization and uses better partners in some European capitals than in Ottawa? This is not a question of lacking American bone, as some of the scowling restoration in Ottawa would have us believe. That continual rebuilding of Washington is without a winnable strategic goal. To my American friends and colleagues I say, please, don't judge the vast majority of us by the actions of the misguided few. We, like you, cherish our sovereignty and independence. I hope the next election will bring us some more to our artificially orchestrated estranged relationship. Thomas Tait, Georgetown, Ont.

Please, Paul Martin, have the guts to forget about the general consensus of apathetic Canadians and take the necessary steps to ensure our long-term safety as a nation. If you're concerned about the legacy you will leave, you should be afraid of what kind of destructive legacy will follow your name if Canada suffers a devastating attack under your complete watch.

Jeffrey Johnson, London, Ont.

### Mind the education gap

In his back Page column "Rowing with one oar" (March 7), Paul Wells makes a number of important observations about the alarm regarding gap between Canadians and U.S. for post secondary institutions. Despite significant increases in Ottawa's investment in higher education recently, our neighbour and that competitor has disappointed far in front of us. On average, U.S. four-year in institutions enjoy a C\$6,000 per-student annual advantage in spending and research funding. This translates into 50 per cent more resources for each student. U.S. institutions leverage these additional resources to enhance the development of highly skilled staff, such as critical thinking and communication, which are linked to increased competitiveness in a global market.

Glenn Morris, President, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Ottawa

Well's bring up when he talks about the importance of funding research if Canadians are to have a world-class education system. Research drives innovative products and new ways of understanding. Active researchers also subject their work to comparison at times — by knowledgeable peers and leading industry experts. They have good ideas because, if they weren't good, they

Canada should contribute to the world in the 21st century. We must discuss whether we want to concentrate on pre-education, disaster relief, a rigid revision face or a concession thereof. We should then re-build our focus from scratch with the appropriate funding, equipment, troop level and training based on the policy.

Peter Steinhardt, Victoria

Finance Minister Ralph Goodale says the main reason Canada will not come close to meeting its international aid target of 0.7 per cent of GDP is that our economy is growing so fast. Let me get this straight: if we aren't going to rich, it would be easier for can do our bit than for the world poor? Goodale might want to think of a better excuse for his government's compassionate stinginess.

Brian Schwartz, Victoria



would not get published. Good-quality ideas raised in a global market would be lost if not ensuring the quality of Canadian university teaching? If Canada does not write the books and publish the research, we'll just be reading about it like everyone else.

Caroline Morrissey, assistant professor, Ryerson University, Toronto, Ontario

United States is ringing our Canadian Internet pharmacies because money is being taken away from its economy and added to ours. To me, when Canadians are provided with jobs and Americans are provided with cheap prescription medication without having to leave their homes, it seems like a win-win situation.

Kyla McDonald, Coquitlam, B.C.

I don't think it's our responsibility to look out for the prescription needs of foreigners — Ottawa regulates this industry for Canada, not North America. That's for the good of rep practice that our policies don't allow us to grow dependent on this industry when we have more viable alternatives in need of help because of just government inaction.

### Reactions to Diane 35

Your article on the drug Diane 35 couldn't have been more timely for me ("Diane fear fact isn't," Health, March 7). *Maclean's* did a panel discussion with my sister in law about the re-means she and her husband have suffered two years ago after being on Diane 35 for mild to moderate acne. I want to tell you readers that if they have any side effects, they can ring our concern with the Canadian Adverse Drug Reaction Monitoring Program at the Marketed Health Product Directorate, Health Canada, Ottawa K1A 1B9. Louise Mathieu, Eugene, Ont.

### Raising a stink

I was disconcerting to see an entire page Maclean's devoted to an evaluation of the effectiveness of various brands of air freshener, "Soaped-up��地 delivery" ("Money's Worth," March 7), of which will add to the already abundant air we breathe. Laundry rooms, bathrooms and kitchens carpeted in scented brands are already encumbered with liquid cleaners, sprays and waxes. By now most of us have learned that they are a sole hedgehog of chemicals and have been motivated to eliminate their use. Thank heavens, it's not too late.

Glenn Morris, President, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Ottawa

“Good ideas tested in a global market will ensure high-quality teachers for the future of our university students

A prescription for controversy I know that many members of my community depend on [HealthAnswersWeb.com](http://HealthAnswersWeb.com) for their job ("Ottawa drug bust," Business, Feb. 21). I think the



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## UPFRONT

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Travel | 'Serial entrepreneur' Leblanc grounds Jetsoo

Michel Leblanc has been here before. President of Jetgo Corp., the discount airline that shut down last year on the eve of spring break, Leblanc has created start-up airlines in the past—and, after a rapid growth spurt, has walked past them to give them gone. "He's a serial entrepreneur," says aviation industry analyst and McGraw-Hill professor Karl Moore. "I wouldn't be surprised to see him back in the game." That, of course, might depend on whether his travelers are in a forgiving mood.

Lyle's aviation career took off in 1996, when he and two partners bought out Quebecair, which had been put out by the Quebec government. Canadian Air Airlines (taken over later by Air Canada) in 2000 bought a 17.1 percent share in the regional carrier, but failed to go along with a scheme to expand into the Toronto-Montreal corridor. Lyle and his partners then bought Canadian Air, moved into that by-then defunct market, and in 1999, drove the 1,600 employees airline to near collapse. He resigned.

Within the year, though, LeBlanc was back. He launched Royal Aviation Inc. as a charter for vacation travel. It grew quickly in the high-flying '90s, and in the spring of 2001, was sold to Canada 3000, one of the now-defunct

effic. That deal included \$84 million in shares for Leblanc; and made him vice-chairman, a job he didn't hold long. Just months later, Leblanc was fired and sued by Canada 3000 for inaccurate profit projections. The allegations against Leblanc were never proven in court.

Lehman had sold his Canada 2000 share before they stopped trading, netting enough cash to create, in early 2002, yet another airline, Jetrail, launched with three planes. This was when the North American industry was reeling from a sharp drop-off in air travel following the 9/11 attacks. Companies like Air Canada and WestJet had to slash their flights and lay off thousands of employees.

The downturn is an opportunity for Canadian. By last week, with a fleet of 29 aircraft and the third largest airline, Canadian was far a penny for a limited time, Leblanc announced he

Western Canada. But had  
for bankruptcy protection  
million over the past eight  
in their vacation plans this  
may not get their money  
fights—at least, until the  
KATHLEEN MCGINNIS

## ScoreCard



Members kill Robert McCutcheon in pub, scars witness into silence but are tested by victim's first brave sisters, drag them out to state by shooting those responsible. (Amendment Revisions Act?) Increasingly Recidivous Association? Who leaves who? (R) stands for anyone?



**PAUL MARTIN**  
Goto Ottawa stop an  
U.S.-concert tour by  
calling his pal Bono,  
green front man and  
Third World crusader. Decisive move  
shows PM can make  
things realistic and  
fun, but at what  
cost? Could explain  
devotion in farm  
and business.



**OBSCURE**  
Observers hope avoided last month will ease tensions between India and Pakistan. Why isn't an interministerial game played in civilian clothes, using a common language and economically reasonable rules? Same parts are  
Strategics for next cricket is diplomacy with hats.



**HYPERBOLE**  
A school district pumps up job titles. *Hyperbole* is "Director of First Impressions," *Bar Director*, "Thrive Officer of Learners," English teachers call them

**Quote of the week** | 'How I wish I could have taken the bullet for him.'

From: DODD, ROBERT M. (ROB) <rob.dodd@usgs.gov> Sent: Friday, 25 August 2006 10:45:45 AM To: 'The Marine Industrial

## Mansbridge on the Record



## WHAT WE'VE ALL LOST

Something connected between this country's police officers and its people

**THE NIGHT BEFORE** the huge recruitment in Edmonton, an RCMP officer general's Boston police officer-wheel to Alberta for the service. "Safely, we'd had a lot of questions for recruited Boston cops," the source told the *Canwest*, "and even says 'I've been at, always own a 'Vedder' there. Bring him for you is my way of saying thanks.' That's all—all he paid his own way, helped by an active agent who, upon hearing his story, gave him a deal in the ticket."

When a contingent of Ontario officers from the OPP, the Toronto force, and from smaller ones and towns across the province's south—few as Edmonton, they did so as an Air Canada jet whose crew, pilots and flight attendants had volunteered their time. Those on the flight took up a collection to buy the new something to thank them, they refused it. Edmonton's hosts were so match for the invasion of thousands of police officers from across the continent—officers from the

"We've just lived through a very special time, and we shouldn't forget it. Something connected between this country's police officers and its people in the days after the terrible slasher in Mayherope, and it's worth trying to understand why. That all four constables were so young—one only 27 days into his first posting—had something to do with it. But I wonder whether there were more."

As with so many other professionals—think politicians, corporate bosses, even journalists—the image of police officers has suffered from the recent actions of a few. Thankful for their help,

**The tragedy reminded us that cops have families that they care for, coach, worry about now—what's that they are?**

when we need them, we're still influenced by the stories of cops on the take, questionable shootings and claims of racial bias. And even without these, too many Canadians—especially in big cities—see the men and women who serve and protect as faceless people behind bulletproof vests whose only role is to stand when our driving leaves something to be desired.

What the week of round-robin training for the Mayherope Four and many more have reminded is that cops are people. They have wives and husbands, sons and daughters, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters. They eat, golf, play poker, road-hockey and fastball, worry about mortgages and grocery bills, in short, their private issues just like ours. They're not just cops, they're us.

When Peter Schramm's letter, the eloquent Rev. Don Schramm, spoke at the memorial, the audience struggled with how when he exhibited a father's wrenching pain. When Lee Johnson talked of serving in the world's most dangerous after his two brothers, Lee, you knew an incredible bond was revealed there. And when two close friends shared memories of French Myron and Artie Gordons, you felt just how low their athletic careers. It was a beautiful service, and the RCMP should be commended for allowing the families the same stage at the dignitaries, for it was the families who made us realize what all of us have lost.

I stood at the back of Edmonton's Botterill for the minute's silence at the memorial service in end, and it was a remarkable 60 seconds. Not a sound. More than 10,000 people, of all ages, and not a sound. Not a cough, not a sneeze. Nothing but a room of accuracy and pride and respect. Constables Schramm, Gordon, Johnson and Myron, we will not forget you.

*Peter Mansbridge is CTV's Correspondent of the Week, Television News and Anchor of *The National*. To comment in the online discussion, visit <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/2800000/>*

## FaceTime

## Lazarus

Kalonian math teacher Ben O'Reilly didn't quite come back from the dead. But it was nearly close. While vacationing in Mexico, O'Reilly, 50, died when a seaplane crashed into him as he lay on a sandy beach. A crew gave him CPR. But by the time he was airlifted to a Houston hospital, O'Reilly had been off life support for 45 minutes. He received oxygen and taking only one breath every minute or so. Doctors were forced to give up. Instead, feeling they had nothing to lose,



they wrapped him in a cooling blanket for three days while he remained in a coma, a technique used on stroke victims, though rarely for so long. "Extraordinary," one doctor said. "We had an off-duty 45-minute resuscitation and taking only one breath every minute or so. Doctors were

forced to give up. Instead, feeling they had nothing to lose,



## Purple Eagle

This could just be the start of a purple Niagara. University Purple Eagles. But enough with being a small fish. On the strength of his team's winning losing streak, the Eagles won their conference title for the first time in 15 years, advanced to the 95-km March Madness, the three-weekend extravaganza that ends with the final four starts off for their Canadian lacrosse slot for that long shot to park their horses with—go Purple.



## Albatross

Gone kids. Just three days a year, making a pit stop to see the end-of-the-world migrations. Prince Charles found himself checked in at the friendly ears of one at a stop on his tour of the Arctic. Opened by a polar bear, the weavers explained his teeth never failed to make the fiber clockwise, the brothers cause loops

a nest. As for the other feathers in the plenum, they wear them the most in elongated webs and snap them and, in any event, molted.



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By the way, last October, you'll be pleased to know Todd got his first hole-in-one, too.



# On getting your financial planning up to scratch.

True story about a hole-in-one. Friday, July 13, 2001.

To finalize the details concerning his employees' benefits program and his partners' insurance policies, Todd Cowage, co-owner of a national, commercial window film company, relocates his regular meeting with Brian Clewes, CFP® over 18 holes. On 14 (238 yards, par 3) our Certified Financial Planner™ professional executes a prodigious swing,

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■ Support for Ireland's paramilitaries hit rock bottom last week after IRA leaders failed to take justice into their own hands and "showed" a Belfast man who killed a Belfast man in a bar fight earlier this year. The family of Robert McCartney rejected the offer, it's lobbying for the IRA to stop armchairing the 70 or so witnesses to the events as real justice can take its course. And Britain and the US stepped up demands for the IRA to disband completely, a position supported by 90 per cent of households in Northern Ireland, according to a poll by the BBC and the Belfast Telegraph.

**COUNTER-RALLY** Syrian troops began their withdrawal from central Lebanon. It is the emotional Syria-out movement sparked by the assassination last month of popular politician Rafik Hariri suffered a setback. A massive pro-Syria rally organised by the Shabiha group from Hama, with crowds estimated at nearly 500,000, countered opposition protesters, while armed paramilitaries from Daraa, considered pro-Syria, was invited to re-form a government.

**FRIENDLY FIRE:** Italy and the U.S. agreed to a joint probe into the shooting death at a Baghdad checkpoint of an Italian army service agent and the wounding of his colleague, just-released hostage Giuliano Sprema. A left-wing journalist, Sprema and she left

BY CREDIT OR SO

answers to why one of our soldiers was killed by an American before the same day.

Meanwhile in Iraq, suicide bombers killed 47 people at a Shiite funeral, a Baghdad-area police chief was gunned down as he left his home, and authorities found two mass graves with at least 40 bodies of men, women and children, some beheaded.

**CHINA:** Ratcheting up the stakes is no longer a game of words with assertive Taiwan, the Chinese legislature introduced a law, set to be approved, that would allow for military action if Taiwan claims formal independence. The two split during the 1949 civil war, and Taiwan's ruling party has been inching toward formal secession.

China also accepted the resignation of Hong Kong leader Tung Chee-hwa, whose ineffective rule emboldened the pro-democracy movement in the former British colony.

**APPENDIX** An Adams judge presiding over a rape trial was shot and killed in his courtroom, along with two other court officials. The suspect was the man on trial, who grabbed an officer's gun and got away in a stolen car.

Meanwhile, a sick man with rough cancer and a grievance against the U.S. health system confessed to killing the husband and elderly mother of Chicago Judge Jean Leflow earlier this month. The execution-style slayings had been blamed on hate groups. But the man, who committed suicide, is in a state that he sent Mrs. Leflow for her one-time dismissal of his lawsuit.

**CHICHEGOV.** Said to be a moderate willing to negotiate with Moscow, Chechen rebel leader Aslan Maskhadov was killed by Russian special forces. Rebels picked a new leader to push for independence but most obversers think the leadership will fall to warlord Shamil Basayev, responsible for the brutal attack on a Beslan school last year.

**WOMEN** As the UN marked International Women's Day, a US rights group documented mass rapes in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kuwaiti women marched on their legislature, seeking universal suffrage. Canadian chef Alain Ducasse visited a remote Purple village to donate \$45,000 to a girls' school founded by Muslimah Masi, a woman going naked since three years ago in a shocking protest of tribal violence.

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## YES, ONTARIO IS A VICTIM

The first ministers made a "terrible error" when they messed around with equalization

**THE FIRST MINISTERS** were tired, grumpy and irritable when they sat off a clicking time bomb last September. Their meeting had run very late. They had worn three achieves and squabbling over health care funding started. So when a senior federal bureaucrat arrived at Paul Martin's residence to brief them on equalization, the complications were too much for them. Why not just build a first floor beneath their transfers, set the floor higher than it would otherwise be—and ensure the floor keeps rising, no matter what? Done. And with that concert intent, they warped a program, with roots in Confederation, that has officially ended since 1967.

While only an accountant could love its intricate formula, equalization is not as tough to grasp as the first ministers appear early thought. The goal is to ensure all provinces can deliver roughly similar services through roughly similar tax levels. These Ontario ministers have stuck money per capita each province raises from 33 different tax sources, like user fees. Then they assign the per capita increases raised by those 33 taxes in five middle range provinces (Energy-rich Alberta, at the top of the heap, is excluded because it would pull the average to the sky; Ontario is isolated—and it slightly raises the average). In 2004-2005, that average was \$6,207 per person; so, for the eight poorer provinces, Ontario makes up the difference. Obviously, this transfer varies from year to year, depending on population and tax hauls. In 2004-2005, it totalled just estimated \$8.9 billion—

**"THE TD Bank says most provinces are on track for balanced or even surplus budgets. But Ontario will have deficits as high as \$5 billion."**

down from nearly \$11 billion in 2001-2002. That was before the first ministers got their paws on it. First, they liked the 2004-2005 transfer to \$10 billion, jumping to \$10.9 billion in 2005-2006. Thereafter, it will grow by 3.5 per cent per year. Then, exhausted, the premiers and PM decided to call a special commission to figure out a new formula for disbursement for 2006-2007.

In so doing, they gutted equalization, the perhaps unaccountably growing even when the poorer provinces narrow the gap. "Let us suppose that, in five years time, every province has exactly the same standard of living and the same revenue generating capacity," says Toronto-Dominion Bank chief economist Don Drummond. "There would still be an equalization payment increased by 5.5 per cent per year. What the hell would you pay it now?" Equalization is now the sinegrace bony of transfers, endlessly shuffling funds, even when needs decline.

Apparently, no premier grasped the implications at the time. (It's only now that Alberta, aware of its resource curse from outside that Ontario's got it at its lowest at Ontario. In 2002, in StatsCan reports, Ottawa withdrew \$21 billion more from the province than it put back. (Finance Minister Ralph Goodale has erroneously asserted this figure down't include such spending as auto industry aid. It does.)

Such gains are not over. Not now. In a recent five-year outlook, the TD Bank and most provinces, including struggling Prince Edward Island, were on track for balanced or even surplus budgets. But Ontario would have deficits so high as \$5 billion as far as the calculator could see. How long can Ontario keep this up? Especially if the need for lessening and the transit is growing. First ministers made a huge error. They cost it. □

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer. Many of her articles can be found online at [www.maryjanigan.ca](http://www.maryjanigan.ca)

## Passages

**HONoured** Quebec dance pioneer Fernande Sullivan, often credited with bringing modern dance to Canada in the 1940s, was one of eight winners of the Governor General's Awards for visual arts and media. Sullivan, 88, has been a choreographer, sculptor, painter and dancer painter.

**PAYDAY** With the NHL off-limits, he is not sure exactly where he will play the 2004-2005 season. The WHL? But 17-year-old phenom Sidney Crosby, from Nova Scotia, won't have to worry about the route. He just signed what is reported to be a five-year, US\$2.5-million endorsement deal with Reebok.

**WOM** Maclean's columnist Peter C. Newman won a \$30,000 prize from the Writers' Trust of Canada for his memoir *Re: Douglas Tilling Tales of People, Passion and Power*. The same group gave a lifetime achievement award to Toronto crime novelist Mohamed Zinga, author of the *Terry* Coopster series, who had a stroke three years ago that left him able to write but not read.

**AWARDED** In 1991, as head of UN peace-keeping mission to Alberta, aware of its resource curse from outside that Ontario's got it at its lowest at Ontario. In 2002, in StatsCan reports, Ottawa withdrew \$21 billion more from the province than it put back. (Finance Minister Ralph Goodale has erroneously asserted this figure down't include such spending as auto industry aid. It does.)

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**RECOVERING** Former U.S. president Bill Clinton had a successful second round of surgery, to remove his nose and ear issue on a long resulting from his gastropexy heart bypass on March 22. A rare complication, the scar tissue and fluid had built up to such an extent they were collapsing parts of his lung. He is to remain in hospital up to 10 days.

# CANADIAN OBSESSONS

A CENTURY OF NATIONAL PREOCCUPATIONS, AS SEEN BY MACLEAN'S

MACLEAN'S

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| TOP 100                |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Canada Day</i>  | 2. <i>Maple Leaf</i>  | 3. <i>Maple Leaf</i>  | 4. <i>Maple Leaf</i>  | 5. <i>Maple Leaf</i>   |
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Interview | DAVID DODGE

## 'PEOPLE WILL TELL US IF THEY THINK WE ARE CRAZY'

DAVID DODGE SAYS SO OFTEN that the Bank of Canada's goal is to keep inflation "low, stable and predictable" that, as the words rip off his tongue, they fly together, creating what seems like a single thought. Governor since February 2001, Dodge last week marked the 70th anniversary of the central bank. In a gesture to this elusive audience, he pointed out that the bank, which among other responsibilities sets interest rates, is more open today than ever about how it goes about its business. "The day of the high priesthood of central banking," the 65-year-old former federal statistician says, "has come and gone."

Many Canadians believe the bank determines whether they're on the path to prosperity or to impoverishment. Are they right?

It's fair to say that through had monetary policy we can do a lot of damage. Through good monetary policy we can establish at least the precondition for good economic

performance, but that depends on much more than just good monetary policy

The bank's obligation is to keep inflation at two per cent. How do you know that's the key to prosperity for Canadians?

Well, careful. It's necessary but not suffi-

cient condition. About the best combination that monetary policy can make is to keep inflation low, stable and predictable, which mitigates the business cycle...number 1, and number 2 provides for the lowest possible interest rate structure over time.

The value of resale real estate in Canada has shot up faster than two per cent. Yet houses and other big ticket items aren't directly included in the inflation measure. Why not? Our job is to preserve the purchasing power of money for the Canadian citizen consuming. It's not to preserve the value of stocks or houses or artwork on the wall. That doesn't mean that asset prices don't contain some useful information. They do. We worry about how to communicate that inflation into our view of what's likely to happen to price inflation going forward.

What's the impact of growing levels of household debt?

It's a healthy removal—and expected—that, with lower interest rates, the level of debt relative to current income would be higher. If interest rates were to move up 200 to 300 basis points, would people be in trouble? The answer is no, we would still have debt service ratios well below the average of the past 20 years.

What impact does volatility in the exchange rate have on inflation?

We couldn't really target inflation if we didn't have a floating exchange rate. We would have to keep that exchange rate stable. That would mean we would have inflation that would be, at the moment, very high, because we'd had a big improvement in our terms of trade. It is absolutely true that the Canada-U.S. exchange rate, one of the most stable bilateral exchange rates in the world, has been most volatile. That's largely due to uncertainty about the U.S. dollar, and of course we can't do much about that. But the strength in the exchange rate means that we have been running a considerably easier policy than we would run if the opposite were the case.

How does the U.S. economy affect monetary policy in Canada?

Low levels of national savings in the United States are a stimulus for us. On the other hand, as that's gone on year after year after year, their big shortage of cash and savings

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## THE MACLEAN'S INTERVIEW

more people increasingly worried about whether the exchange rate for the U.S. dollar is sustainable over the long haul. You really have to look behind what's causing these exchange rates to get the implications for monetary policy. Wherever we've had very strong foreign demand, we've a little worried we might be shooting right through capacity and generate some inflationary pressures. On the other hand, as our exports become a drag because of the strength of the U.S. dollar, that's the opposite in the case.

**Is tying the Canadian dollar to the U.S. dollar was a hot topic a while ago, but it seems to have fallen off the table. Is that idea dead?**

For the foreseeable future I think the floating exchange rate serves us exceptionally well. One could see a point where the cost of a floating exchange rate would be higher and then, from the strictly economic point of view, who would want to consider a single currency. But that would require the structure of our economy to look more similar. It would require that labour be able to move freely across the Canada-U.S. border. And it would mean no restrictions on the movement of goods and services. We're a long way away from all that.

**You've said Canada needs to enhance work skills, to make markets more efficient, and to reduce red tape and regulations. How can the bank influence these factors? Given the demographic structure of this country, and given the level of independence of government, it's really important that governments continue over the next decade to reduce the debt-to-GDP ratio. That will allow us to operate more efficiently and will provide the best prerequisites for growth. But that alone won't do it. I mean, macroeconomic policies and social policies are absolutely critical. But the bank is an independent institution, and if we want to have that independence then we'd better not tell governments how they ought to operate their macro-economic policy.**

**You've expressed concern that the financial institutions to be stable and efficient. What threats do you see?**

For many years, Canada had one of the most efficient, rigorous governing financial institutions. What's happened is the rest of the

world has caught up, and it keeps moving forward. And we've not done very much since the mid-'90s to keep us moving forward.

### Are you in favour of bank mergers?

There are three fundamental public interests. The first is that we have a high level of competition. Second, that institutions are safe. Our banks apparently And third, we have to have a structure that governs macro and institutions, which promotes efficiency. And that largely means allowing the market to work and not standing in the way. If we try to erect all sorts of barriers, we allow those institutions as dominant players to sit in a rather comfortable pose, and it would really like to make their life as uncomfortable as possible so that they always strive to produce the best quality service at the lowest possible price for Canadian businesses and individuals. We ought to allow the market to determine which financial institutions survive, and which don't survive.

**"WE ought to allow the market to determine which financial institutions survive, and which don't survive."**

**Have you consulted for the most recent to drop foreign content rules on NSIPs and presscon?**

I argued for a long time that the 30-per cent limit was not a good idea for the efficient operation of Canadian capital markets. The large pension funds could get around it, at rather needless expense—and hurting only pensioners. And for individuals, everybody's situation differs. For some people, it's really appropriate that they own shares all their own offshore.

**Why is it important for the bank to be transparent?**

Monetary policy works best when Canadians and the markets understand what you're doing. The most is to be in a Korean-type world where people are looking at every rating on every syllable trying to divine what you're going to do. We may not be the best analysts in the world. But at least being open shows how we think. People will tell us if they think we're crazy.

KATHERINE MAGGIE



# 'WE ARE LEFT NUMB'

As four murdered Mounties are laid to rest, everyone from family to fellow officers tries to come to terms with their grief—and a host of troubling questions

**IN THAT** Christmas-time cheer, B.M. Winkler's Laff, doverent his look good guy George Buley wishes he'd never been born because he thinks everyone would be better off without him. George's godson, Greg, Gleason, that shows him how different life would be for readers of the small town of Westfield Falls, N.Y., had George been gossiped with "It's strange, isn't it?" Gleason tells George. "Each man's life touches so many other lives. When he's not around, it leaves an awful hole."

Not always just think how many people would be better off had James Rousko not been born 46 years ago in the central Alberta town of Mayberge. Chief among them are the four young RCMP constables the hate-filled Bancho shot and killed at his funeral.

on March 1, before running his high-powered, rapid-fire rifle on himself. After a young man, whom Rousko repeatedly sexually assaulted in the 1980s, during which the victim was just 10 years old (one of the few crimes for which Rousko did jail time), would have spent a lifetime of anguish. The same goes for a 29-year-old Mayberge-area man who says Rousko forced him at gunpoint to perform oral sex in the early 1990s (though several charges were laid, the case fell apart after Rousko allegedly intimidated key witnesses, including his victim).

The Ferguson case has forced the man Rousko threatened to have killed, putting a \$10,000 bounty on his head. The former friend he held at gunpoint. The

Westfield case  
from across the  
continent for an  
emotional farewell

neighbours he fired warning shots at from his firehouse bunker. The cops he verbally abused and whose families he rallied. All would have led quieter, happier lives had James Rosko never walked that earth.

But, of course, he did—and we are all forced to deal with his grisly legacy. Last week, family and friends laid the four slain officers to rest in their home communities, and thousands of others gathered in Edmonson for an emotional national memorial service—the largest such ceremony in RCMP history. Antennaeless dignitaries, in well-suited ones of each of the four federal Monarchs, addressed an overflow crowd of 13,000, most of them police officers who came from across the country in a show of solidarity and respect. Looking out on a sea of red serge, Prime Minister Paul Martin eloquently summed up the collective sense of loss: “We are left numb,” he said, “that a single act of hate has affected so many lives, caused so much grief, interrupted so much love.”

Beyond the pain Rosko inflicted on individuals, one of the most remarkable things about his first crime—on its surface, the random act of a damaged loner—is how it emerged to ride at the heart of so many hot-button issues in Canadian public life. The most talked about, if perhaps the least relevant, is the so-called war on drugs. In-



Bugler Const. Dennis Rosko plays during the national memorial service in Edmonson

use analysis in the wake of the shootings—by no lesser authorities than Deputy Prime Minister Anne McLellan and RCMP Commissioner Clifton Zucco—remind us “the struggle” of interprovincial cooperation. By last week, that span proved begun.

Indeed so that Zucco had publicly apologized for giving “what I believed was the best information I had, knowing full well at that time I didn’t have all the information.”

We now know the RCMP had been summoned to Rosko’s former B.C. home 2½ years after the repossession of a 2005 Ford pickup Rosko had leased from an Edmonton company. It was only then officers discov-

ered stolen auto parts and 20 marijuana pots and untaxed their first federal overtime statement. To the degree marijuana played a role in the RCMP’s decision to raid Rosko’s home, it arguably bolsters the case for legalizing (as opposed to “decriminalizing”) this relatively soft drug and then regulating and taxing it, much as alcohol is now. That way, criminals would be rid of a lucrative enterprise and no more police enforcement or policing such a dubious prohibition.

A more pertinent issue is what the tragedy says about Ottawa’s controversial national gun registry. Canadians have already shelled out more than \$8 billion to license guns, own and register firearms. While law-abiding hunters, marksmen and gun collectors have, often begrudgingly, paid that fine indignity, it’s been obvious from the start that regular citizens were never going to comply.

A court order detailing back in 2000 banned Rosko from owning firearms. But friends and family members say he cleverly stashed away weapons at his home, including a sawed-off rifle that the bullet from the cop gun is retained or the ammunition clip is empty. Between 1993 and 1996, RCMP searched Rosko’s property three times for illegal or unregistered firearms. While they seized a shotgun and a handgun, they failed to find the HW 308 semi-automatic rifle

they had been told Rosko possessed.

The Mayerthorpe tragedy gives long-time critics of the firearms registry fresh ammunition. “The majority focuses on the good guy in society while criminals make a mockery of it,” says Yukonian Meticulous Conservative MP Garry Breakestone. “Instead, we should spend that money on the front lines, helping police to do their job.”

A strong argument, to be sure, but Rosko’s repeated ability to flout the law raises another top-of-mind issue: did the justice system fail us? Rosko was charged with many things, convicted of very few. The only serious offence he did was 2½ years for several assault before being released on mandatory parole in 2002. (Ironically, Rosko showed no remorse for his actions and refused to accept treatment for sexual deviance.) Ken Connell, a RCMP corporal and now Mayerthorpe’s deputy mayor, thinks inexperience of cash defence lawyers, plea bargaining, prosecutors and lenient judges. “The biggest problem with our system is that you cannot have all the right,” says Connell. “The results are the public have none.”

Connell, who arrived in Mayerthorpe for nine years, recalls how intelligent Rosko could be even when pulled over for minor traffic offences. “As soon as you stopped him, he was screaming at you, throwing stuff,” says Connell. “He was all about in denials.” Still, Connell says no one could have foreseen the town’s once one-day eating death. Four police officers in cold blood. “That’s so far out of the vision,” he says. “It’s just unbelievable.”

And that’s the rub. Trying to make sense of Rosko’s destructive life—and especially his last horrific death, raises questions that range far beyond the law and public policy. It goes to what theologian calls “the problem of evil.” How can an all-powerful, all-loving God allow such a thing to happen? Just as believers like Don Johnson, a Lutheran minister from Stony Plain, Alta., and father of 35-year-old Peter Johnson, the youngest of the four slain RCMP officers, there was an answer. “God grants us people (evil),” he said just two days after the final thomago, “and with free will, some people choose to do great evil. But they also know how great is God’s love for us.”

Administrative words, full of compassion and deep conviction. But they don’t quite match the thought, however futile, that this one evil man could somehow have been stopped. ■

## FULL OF HEART, THEY WANTED TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

### PETER SCHIRMANN

It was, perhaps, Peter Schirmann’s selfless nature that contributed to his death. Reports of off-duty acts of service and concern mark the four-year veteran of the Mayerthorpe detachment most likely to have gone to James Rosko’s farm to lend a hand. One RCMP has declared him “a legend.” Born in Peterborough, Ont., in 1965, he moved to Alberta as a youngster with his father, Dan, a Lutheran pastor, his mother, Ruth, younger sister and an older brother, Michael. As a venture into law enforcement, he served as a constable and a constable-in-training, and grew up in Lacombe, Alta., in 1981. He survived a terrible auto-accident, fought his way out of a coma and then worked to repair his broken body. Three years later, he passed his RCMP physical; it was his brother who presented him with his badge. Johnson leaves behind Ruth, his wife of barely 2½ months. “We were supposed to have a long and beautiful future together,” he said, soon overwhelmed by family two days after his death. “There’s nothing in this world that can replace my wonderful Lee.”

### LINDSEY JOHNSTON

To his friends, his own brother and new bride, the 23-year-old Johnston was a caring person with an infectious smile. “He’s determined and a crack pistol shot,” Johnson was born nine minutes ahead of his brother, Lee—who became a constable in 1987 and grew up in Lacombe, Alta. In 1993, he survived a terrible auto-accident, fought his way out of a coma and then worked to repair his broken body. Three years later, he passed his RCMP physical; it was his brother who presented him with his badge. Johnson leaves behind Ruth, his wife of barely 2½ months. “We were supposed to have a long and beautiful future together,” he said, soon overwhelmed by family two days after his death. “There’s nothing in this world that can replace my wonderful Lee.”

### ROCK MYRON

With his square jaw and dimpled chin, Myron could have been the RCMP’s poster boy. But he decided to become the officer in a soap opera, *Barrie*, in 1986, and moved to Red Deer, Alta.—Myron, 29, graduated from the RCMP academy in 1990. After some solid mid-career bylines, he chose, and started at the Mayerthorpe detachment as a Valentine’s day岩石. “He wanted to make a difference,” said Peter Art, made by Art at last week’s memorial service. “There’s why he decided on a career with the RCMP.” Before the *Barrie*, Myron had travelled the world, posted to a field unit in Africa, learned how to play guitar and earned a black belt in karate. His proposed to his girlfriend, Angie over the Christmas holidays, giving her an engagement ring. His favorite piece was singing with family beside a campfire and singing songs with his dad.

### ANTHONY GORDON

Described by his friend Const. Eric Kryszak as a “friendly, gentle giant of a man,” the six-foot-four Gordon had wanted to be a Mountie since Grade 8, started to be a Mountie since Grade 10, started to be a Mountie since Grade 12, started to be a Mountie since Grade 14, started to be a Mountie since Grade 16, started to be a Mountie since Grade 18, started to be a Mountie since Grade 20, started to be a Mountie since Grade 22, started to be a Mountie since Grade 24, started to be a Mountie since Grade 26, started to be a Mountie since Grade 28, started to be a Mountie since Grade 30, started to be a Mountie since Grade 32, started to be a Mountie since Grade 34, started to be a Mountie since Grade 36, started to be a Mountie since Grade 38, started to be a Mountie since Grade 40, started to be a Mountie since Grade 42, started to be a Mountie since Grade 44, started to be a Mountie since Grade 46, started to be a Mountie since Grade 48, started to be a Mountie since Grade 50, started to be a Mountie since Grade 52, 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MICHAEL BARKER

# THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION WILL BE TELEVISED

A person in a dark room, possibly a projection booth, is looking at a computer monitor. The monitor displays a video feed of another person in a dark room, possibly a projection booth, with a computer monitor and other equipment visible in the background.

WATCH FOR THE CHANGING FACE OF TELEVISION IN THE MARCH 28 ISSUE OF MACLEAN'S AND LEARN HOW DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY IS MAKING 'THE TUBE' A THING OF THE PAST.

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# TORY TALENT SHOW

Stephen Harper could be upstaged by his party's fresh faces, says JOHN GEDDES

**IF THE ORGANIZERS** get their way, the list that the Conservative party's policy convention in Montreal this week will be about is policy. What they hope to emphasize is a coming-of-age for the young, Tory politicians who look good on TV. So watch for Alberta MP Rona Ambrose, 36, to get plenty of exposure in one of the event's stage rooms. And when comes to presenting the key case that the sponsorship affair proves the Liberals' lost-battle days are over, the designated speaker will be B.C. MP Joyce Murray, who at 34, as one of the party's youngest MPs, "brings a sheaf of bench strength will put a smile into Liberals." But there's another way to consider who should be upstage the convention's introduce-the-team team. Maybe Stephen Harper should be worried about being upstaged in his own backyard.

There was no shortage of buzz among Tories about Ambrose's flair and Murray's smarts, along with advance hype for half-dozen other MPs lined up to put their mark on the convention spotlight. But Harper's keynote speech, set for Friday evening, won't bring the same big buildup. No doubt that's partly his bad luck, arriving so late in the process. Another factor, though, is the regeneration streak even some of Harper's old supporters that he is not evoking in the sort of politician who can connect with voters on a gut level. "Virtuage remains a challenge," admitted one senior Conservative manager. "There's no question it's been in his name, but there's this lingering question of approachability. He can work on that, but he will never be made into Heidi of a guy Harper."

Lucky for him there's not much chance of Heidi of a guy Martin, or Layton or even Duceppe emerging either. Still, for Harper to be a viable prime minister-in-waiting, he must offer something beyond the intelligence and shrewdness that persistently define him in the public and media imagination. "Voters know he's cool and he's smart, but



Morne and Ambrose (top) are keen to help sell the Conservatives as a young party

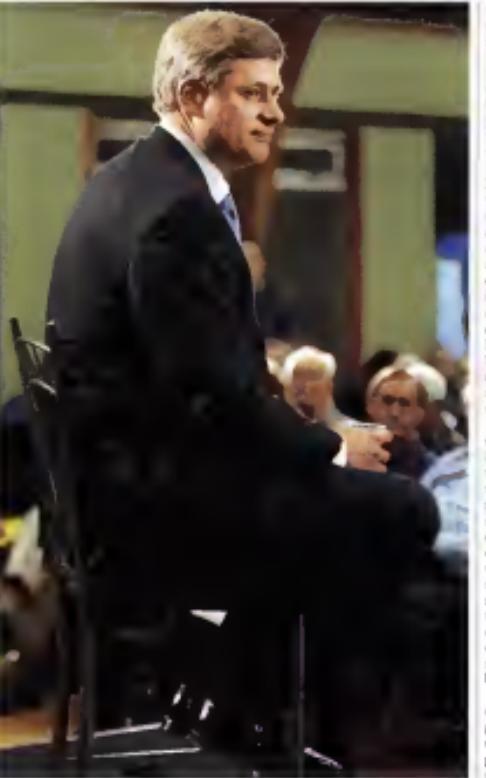
they don't know what makes him tick," says Mark Nason, president of the polling firm SCS Research. This doesn't mean Harper needs to bare himself, which would almost certainly become a ploy from a political as firmly positioned as a thumper than an enigma. But he must at least present him-

**EVEN** some Harper supporters admit he's not evolving into the sort of politician who connects with voters on a gut level

self as a convention politician—the elemental ticket of right-wingers from Ronald Reagan to Mike Harris. And it is on that account that some dismiss Harper as lacking.

**TOKER** **REBUTTAL** **DANCE** Paul Martin's fuzzy explanation of his decision not to sign an anti-controversial U.S. military program, after prolonged agonizing over what to do, underscored the Prime Minister's growing problem with being seen as dithering and indecisive. Harper could have presented himself as the clear-sighted alternative. But instead of having crafted out a precise, pro-missile shield position, he was left complicating the hedged Conservative stance—open to considering the details of a U.S. proposal, but not necessarily committed to signing on. Not much of a soundbite there. Some Tories defend Harper for having avoided a trap. "The Liberals wanted the Conservative party to jump out in front of the debate and say we were in favour of missile defense so they could allegation on it being for someone American was just a square," Moore says. "We didn't play that game."

But other frustrated right-wingers see it as another sign that Harper plays too safe, too steady. "It's a huge missed opportunity," says Adam Dushoff, a 26-year-old Stavie scholar at McGill University, who is co-writing a book with the working title *Rescuing Canadian Right*, scheduled for publication early next year. "What's strategically wrong with Harper is his lack of clarity and his reluctance to get out in front of an issue." Veterans analysts tend to some impairment outside like Dushoff in reading the tactical game. One Harper adviser said the underlying reason for avoiding a bold stand on missile defense was the danger of alienating Liberal voters, especially in Ontario, who might feel Conservative奉行 existing policies are more, but are wary of moving to the Americans. "Some of Stephen's strongest supporters had been come out strongly for missile defense," the adviser said. "But the reality is that the next election



Nobody told a recent Calgary town hall there are hot-button topics Harper needs to play down

self-preservation by courting Liberal switches." Going after those paternal deficits means not allowing the party to be defined, in an embarrassing flip-flop, as Harper's convention argument had to absolve a plan he had himself. What really worries Tory electorates in the panel of issues, in

souls were supporting a resolution that, if it passed at the convention, would have guaranteed Conservative MPs five votes on "issues of moral conscience." The trick was that passing that resolution would have cancelled all further discussion of those issues in Montreal. Social conservatives who do personally want to try to pass policies on abortion and marriage out of foul—and the party withdrew the bill in stale debate.

That reversal left open the possibility that Harper might have to contend with a convention dominated by subjects he's serving to play down. The lesson experience of last spring's election left little doubt about the need for Conservatives to avoid being dragged into the party that would dominate media coverage or topics he abortion debate. "In the closing days of the campaign, the Liberals were able to shift the debate to social issues, and characterize the Conservatives as having a hidden agenda," Moore says. "Harper should be looking at issues that reinforce the Conservative message as it's trying to define—fiscal issues, taxes, strategy in government, and time for a change."

In fact, those are pretty much the issues that Harper's team hopes to highlight in Montreal. While they were struggling to limit the potential for social conservatives to hijack the convention, the party insiders intended more receptive to demands from others, notably the National Citizens Council, for clearer policies on tax cuts and smaller government. But policy priorities such as those will hardly make a surprise for the national right-of-centre party. The question is how successful the strategy of introducing new faces turns out to be. It doesn't hurt that veteran MP Randy White, a rugged embodiment of Western popular social conservatism, is seated before the convention that he won't be running again come the next election.

Now, the challenge is to replace the likes of White with more nationally recognizable products. "People aren't really familiar with the fact that we have this group of young people in our party," Ambrose said. "It's hard to get through a realistic portrait of what we represent." She's among the many fibres who think it's crucial to mention that the party has the youngest leadership caucus in the House, with 21 MPs under 40. There are dog-eared right-wingers amongst the young MPs. But there are also those, like Peter MacKay and Bernadette Sellnow—whose religious involvement makes them the party's

most-watched power couple—whom refuse the programme, remain one of the old Progressive Conservatives. “Keeping the progressive elements of this party is going to be very, very important,” Mackay says.

Selling the Conservatives as young, attractive and moderate is only half the game. The other half is portraying the Liberals as old, worn-out and corrupt. With Justice and John Gutfreund’s intervention into the spin-

ship affair also in town, Macmillan might be as good a place as any to make that case. For all the triumphs of new faces, and some on policy, Tory hopes are riding largely on Gutfreund’s report, due out near the end of this year. While it’s impossible to predict when a minority government might fall, a spring 2006 election is a reasonable guess. “We’d like to be sponsorship and cleaning up government by the fall,” says

Macmillan, “says western MP Monte Solberg. “So one optimistic prospect for Conservatives heading into this week’s convention is an election next year in a climate of renewed weariness with the Liberals. What would make it a dream scenario? If by then the public—every voter who’ll never vote for Harper—had learned to recognize those new, unfrustrating Tory faces walking in the wings.” ■

## LA DIFFÉRENCE

The Tories need Quebec voters, writes BENOIT AUBIN

AS HE PREPARES to open his party’s national convention in Montreal later this week, Conservative Leader Stephen Harper looks very much like the show salesman coming to a townie where nobody writes checks. Quebec is a Tory lemming. Not one of the province’s 75 seats in the Commons belongs to the Conservatives. They don’t have a farm team, playing in the National Auto-Opti-Opter. A conservative party is just not indigenous to Quebec’s political climate. But Harper desperately needs to make inroads here—if only to convince voters elsewhere the Conservatives are a credible national organization. So here he comes, in

the footsteps of Robert Stanfield, Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney—selling votes in a wagon market.

Federal Tory leaders have often made alliances in the province to get Quebec votes. But, Josee Verner, Harper’s key lieutenant in the province, says the Conservatives are now “building a new party from the ground up—and we’re doing what it takes.”

Harper speaks decent French, has a constitutional platform (“balancing somewhere,” or open-minded federalism), and a special team of Quebec advisers in Ottawa. He makes regular forays into the province, visiting targeted rural areas, farmers, business people. But he has a long way to go before he can move any faraway. A CROP poll just published by Légerleter, Maclean’s sister publication, shows that only one-third of Quebec voters know who Harper is and what he does for a living—and a paltry 16 percent say they’d vote for his party. “Holding the convention here will enhance our visibility somewhat,” Verner says.

In the recent past, nearly every time the Conservatives made it to a constituency, they had



**Harper's tour**  
Légerleter poll for Maclean's found 16 percent of Quebec voters know who Harper is and what he does for a living—and a paltry 16 percent say they'd vote for his party. “Holding the convention here will enhance our visibility somewhat,” Verner says.

In the recent past, nearly every time the Conservatives made it to a constituency, they had

to René Lévesque taking the “jeux roses” (the豪爽的 gamble of renewed federalism). Robert Bourassa was very much behind Mulroney in 1988—free trade, March 1993. But after 1993’s election, with both Mulroney and Bourassa gone, Jean Charest, who had been deputy prime minister, emerged as the only Tory MP in the province—and one of only two nationally to survive Kim Campbell’s short-lived leadership. Now, Charest is the Liberal premier, down in the polls. “Undermining our position is going to be as federal policy,” says an observer.

Not that Quebec is a liberal fortress. The federal party lost control a majority in the province in 1980. Here, local partis capture the province vote and spoil the game. In the ’80s, there were the Coalition, and, recently, the Bloc Québécois. But there is now an emerging conservative sentiment, reflected in provincial policies by the Action démocratique du Québec, Mario Dumont’s right of centre formation. Quebec has long been a lefty province, but maybe the times they are a changing? The CROP poll also found that a majority in the province now favours some privatisation of health care, tougher job references, and stricter controls on immigration—natural Tory stuff.

The new Quebec Conservatives won’t just be ADQ members flushing a Maple Leaf, says Verner—herself a former ADQ supporter. “We will surprise you by bringing in new people, disgruntled Liberals and like people as well.” In the last federal election, some ridings in the Quebec City area—including Verner’s own—showed a growing level of support for Conservative candidates. If the party hopes to get a break, it will be there. But winning seats in Quebec in the next election is not the main objective. “If we can do well enough here to convince a slice of Ontario voters that we are a credible national party,” says one Tory insider, “it could make a difference.” ■

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# IDEALISTS OR FOOLS?

Some dissidents now believe their activism is hopeless, writes BENOIT AUBIN

**EITHER MANUEL** Vásquez Peralta was an idealist, a romantic hero who fought for freedom and democracy in a country where neither exist. Or he was a fool, for waging a public opinion battle against a dictatorship where public opinion does not exist either. Vasquez Peralta had plenty of time to pose over the debate. "One year, three months and four days in solitary confinement," the 33-year-old Cuban political dissident and journalist said during a recent interview in Havana. His conclusion? Only fools still believe the former rights minister could improve any 78-year-old Fidel Castro. "We have to wait for the biological solution."

With his mass of white hair, thick white beard and oversized glasses, the frail-looking Vasquez Peralta looks more like a heretic

Police in Old Havana shot mistakes of dissidents from the popular tourist area

then a released convict. He was arrested two years ago, along with 31 other Cuban human rights activists, charged with sedition and being a necessary tool by foreign powers and thrown in prison for 18 years. He never issued the "health reason" as the regime

**'THE road to exile is very difficult. But I feel totally useless in Cuba, because there is nothing I can do to help my country.'**

put it, last June, along with 13 other aging, ailing compatriots (31 other detainees, most of them younger race, remain behind bars).

The arrests took place on March 19, 2003, as the world was riven by the invasion of Iraq. "These dissidents played mostly their outside and inside," one European diplomat in Havana told MacLeod. "Most Cubans have never heard of them—and probably wouldn't believe people like them even existed here." Now that Vasquez Peralta has reached a conclusion about the hopelessness of his own political activism, he walks out, haddly to the United States. "What can happen here?" he asks. "Nothing! Internal dissidents are powerless, and exiled dissidents could never invade the island in arms."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 31



[www.lifefest.ca](http://www.lifefest.ca)

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the pants

**LIFEfest**  
A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

Presented by

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PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. COHEN

April 15, 16 and 17, 2005

Metro Toronto Convention Centre • North Building

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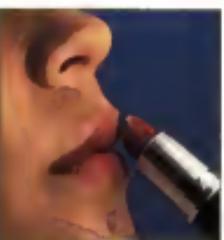
Please note the 1-866 number will not be available on Saturday's and statutory holiday's.

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**LIFEfest**  
A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

presented by  
**SHOPPERS**  
DRUG MART

April 15, 16 and 17, 2005  
Metro Toronto Convention Centre • North Building

**Balance And Beyond: Up Close And Personal With The Experts**

To live happy, healthy balanced lives, women need to know everything they can about health, beauty, fitness and nutrition. And that's what they'll get at LIFEfest: *A Life In Balance Expo*.

The second annual *Life In Balance* Expo offers even more opportunities to "ask the experts," with question-and-answer sessions scheduled for every presenter on the program. And that means more practical information to better connect head and heart and to make life meaningful in a stressful world.

LIFEfest 2005 will be a dynamic and exciting three-day event that delivers exhibits as well as information, demonstrations and interactive events to an expected audience of more than 35,000 women.

The *Life In Balance* Expo will help women enhance and achieve the balance they need in their lives. No matter what their age, whether working inside or outside the home, women are constantly seeking ways to live healthy lives that are in physical and mental equilibrium. The four lifestyle issues women identify as crucial to their well-being — health, beauty, fitness and nutrition — are the cornerstones of the *Life In Balance* Expo presented by Shoppers Drug Mart at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

Internationally renowned marquee speakers — including Erin Brockovich, Lily Tomlin, Richard Simmons and Debbie Travis — and a show floor filled with a tremendous array of products and information from more than 200 exhibitors highlight this emerging experience. Workshops, seminars, interactive events, contests with fabulous prizes and opportunities to see, hear, touch, taste and participate in every aspect of healthy living set this experience apart from any other.

The *Life In Balance* Expo is organized and staged by Rogers Media Inc., presented by Shoppers Drug Mart and supported by a wide array of associate sponsors.

**ROGERS**

LIFESTYLE  
A Rogers Media Inc. Property



Lily Tomlin

*An Evening Of Classic Lily Tomlin*

Lily Tomlin continues to venture across an ever-widening range of media, starring in theatre, television and movies. Her extraordinary entertainment career has been showered with awards, including six Emmys, a Tony for her one-woman Broadway show *Appearing Ladies* and an Outer Critics' Circle Award for her one-woman performance in *The Search For Signs Of Intelligent Life In The Universe*. Tomlin continues to make live appearances and can be seen on TV's *The West Wing*.



Erin Brockovich

*Take It From Me: Life's A Struggle But You Can Win*

Erin Brockovich was a file clerk in a law office when she came across medical records that piqued her curiosity — and changed her life. She proved that a chemical company was causing the illnesses plaguing residents in and around Hinkley, California. The lawsuit that followed resulted in the largest settlement in U.S. history — \$333 million — and a hit movie, *Erin Brockovich*. Now director of environmental research at the same law firm, Brockovich has received numerous honours for her work.



Debbie Travis

*Moods And Colors*

Gemini award-winner Debbie Travis is host, creator and creative producer of Debbie Travis' FaceOff, the popular HDTV series in which she overhauls the rooms of unsuspecting, absent homeowners. Travis's first series, *The Painted House*, has aired more than 80 countries and her books and videos are bestsellers. Travis's syndicated column is featured in newspapers across North America and she has shared designers' secrets on TV's *The Oprah Winfrey Show* and *Live With Regis And Kelly*.



Richard Simmons

*Aerobics For A Few Thousand Close Friends*

The self-proclaimed Court Jester of Health, Richard Simmons bounded to the forefront of the fitness craze with his irreverent humour and indefatigable energy. His unique brand of entertainment made him the star of his own daytime TV program, but it is his compassion for those struggling with obesity and food addiction that makes Simmons one of the most popular motivators in the world.

**MARQUEE SPEAKERS**

**POWER 2 COOK**

**NEW Asian Broths from Campbell's.**  
**Asian-inspired cooking made easy.**

**HOME MADE SOUP METHOD**

**BROWNS:** 1/4 lb beef or chicken strips  
or 1/2 cup mushrooms

**ADDS:** 500 ml Campbell's Asian Broth  
or your choice and 1/2 cup  
mixed vegetables, sliced

**STIR IN:** 1/2 cup noodles, broken,  
cooked, about 10 min., or until  
cooked through  
Serves 3-4

**STIR-FRY METHOD**

**MIX:** 500 ml Campbell's Asian Broth  
or your choice with 2 tbsp. cornstarch  
or more

**SAUTE:** 1/2 lb beef or chicken strips or 1/2  
cup sliced and browned  
onions or vegetables, sliced

**ADDS:** 500 ml Campbell's Asian Broth  
or your choice and 1/2 cup  
mixed noodles and vegetables, sliced  
Serves 4

**RICE METHOD**

**STEAK:** 500 ml Campbell's Asian Broth  
or your choice to a boil

**STIR IN:** 1/2 cup long grain rice, broken  
or browned rice 1/2 cup  
broth or Campbell's  
Serves 4

Visit [www.power2cook.ca/asian](http://www.power2cook.ca/asian) for great recipe ideas.



# LIFEfest Highlights



Jennifer Lopez



Kimberly Ettinger

## THE WOMEN OF EXTREME MAKEOVER

Imagine going through life never having sentido. Imagine never having had a single mole of rosacea. These are the amazing before-and-afters of Cynthia Lutzefford and Kimberly Ettinger, who underwent surgery but on a worldwide television audience on the hot series *Extreme Makeover* and a show not only their bodies but their lives. LIFEfest offers a chance to talk to Lutzefford and Lutzefford, who's accompanied by personal plastic surgeon Dr. Peter Aschander, and to share in two stories you will never forget.



Maria Menounos



Beth Evans

## GET TINY AND TONED WITH STOTT PILATES

Get into STOTT PILATES, the world leader in today's hottest exercise program. STOTT PILATES co-creator and master instructor Moira Menkin shows you how to use a Pilates Circle Resistance Ring to add fun, variety and challenge to a mid-level pilates workout at 11 a.m. Friday, 11 a.m. Saturday, instructor, trainer and program director Beth Evans teaches exercises that will help you achieve the best and toned mid-section you've been looking for. And at 11 a.m. Sunday, Menkin shows how to use a Flex-Band Exercise to achieve a long and lean look.

**STOTT PILATES**  
122 [www.stottpilates.com](http://www.stottpilates.com)

## SIMPLE SKIN CARE

Elizabeth Arden skin care experts show you how to take care of your skin without taking too much time from your schedule. Also, join Kirk Stanley for small group consultations and try out the newest Elizabeth Arden product, Skin Simple.

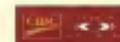
**Elizabeth Arden**



## USE YOUR CREDIT WISELY

In a world where very few of us pay cash or write a cheque on the sofa, it's financial best to be more valuable than your pettiest credit. Denise McMurtry, one of Canada's leading business journalists, takes you through a quick course in the all-too-often-overlooked areas of planning and responsible use of credit cards.

Presented by CIBC VISA



## THE ART OF FRAGRANCE

You will never experience scent again in the same way after you've watched fragrance expert Marisa Berenson. Berenson match your personality profile to the scent you wear — or should be wearing. She offers an extraordinary demonstration of art, science and skill.

Presented by Unilever Cosmetics  
International Cosmetics

## CONCEPTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

For many couples, fertility is one of the most emotional and important issues in the balance of their lives. Dr. Kari Cedzysky, a reproductive gynecologist and a leading expert in the field, answers your questions and presents the most current information.

Presented by Lifehouse Centre  
for Reproductive Medicine



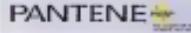
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## FABULOUS IN FIVE

Here's a rare opportunity to get personal advice from an international beauty expert — John Donata, the man who creates the hair lengths, looks and colours for the covers of international fashion magazines. He presents the latest trends at LIFEfest and conducts small group consultations to help you get to fabulous in five minutes!

Presented by Pantene Pro-V



**PANTENE**

## THE HIDDEN MEANING OF FOOD

It's not about the recipe and it's not a cooking demonstration in a kitchen. It's Chef Michael Smith giving you a whole new way to consider what food means, from sharing meals with your own family to entertaining friends.

Presented by Food Network Canada



Watch everyday women transform before your eyes.

**sexu  
girl**

Saturdays 4:30pm ET/ 1:30pm PT



Presented by  
REVLON

Regis 41



real.

[LifeNetwork.ca](http://LifeNetwork.ca)

98.1 CHFI  
Today's Lite Music

SHAGGY  
NORAH JONES  
MICHELLE BRANCH

MADONNA  
ENRIQUE IGLESIAS  
ELTON JOHN  
SHERYL CROW  
PHIL COLLINS  
MATCHBOX 20

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- Boost your self-esteem

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Introducing the  
new Sunday Star



Sunday you'll  
have a chance  
to unwind and  
watch your  
world unfold.  
Sunday, you'll  
see the entire  
spectrum of  
entertainment  
in business,  
culture and  
life that  
isn't offered  
on Sunday.



A time to  
unwind and  
watch your  
world unfold.  
Sunday, you'll  
see the entire  
spectrum of  
entertainment  
in business,  
culture and  
life that  
isn't offered  
on Sunday.



There is no set  
time for  
unwind and  
watch your  
world unfold.  
Sunday, you'll  
see the entire  
spectrum of  
entertainment  
in business,  
culture and  
life that  
isn't offered  
on Sunday.



Are the latest  
movies with  
explosive really  
necessary on a  
day like  
Sunday? You bet.

TORONTO STAR  
where you live



# LIFEfest

A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

## SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

April 15, 16 and 17, 2005

11 a.m.  
Balancing Your Workout with STOTT PILATES  
master instructor and creator  
Naia Morello

12 noon  
The Abilities Meaning Of Food by Chef Michael  
Smith, host of Food Network Canada's  
Chef At Home

12 noon  
Feeling Less, Life And Happiness by clinical  
hypnotherapist Linda Gabril  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

1 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Life-Affirming Documentary by June Regin, author of *A Friend Indeed*  
2 p.m.  
The Abilities Meaning Of Food by Chef Michael  
Smith, host of Food Network Canada's  
Chef At Home  
2 p.m.  
The Secret For Life Game by Drs. Tony &  
Charlotte Daniels, Babsi Mithaessan and  
Michael Cho  
Presented by Life Network

2 p.m.  
Getting AHEAD About Weight Loss by  
international speaker Charles Ciosek  
2 p.m.  
Ping Shui: Cutting Through The Mystery  
of Chinese Healing Feng Shui experts  
Katherine and Ross Laoer  
2 p.m.  
Conquer Your Cravings: The Non-Surgical  
Alternative To Liposuction by cosmetic surgeon  
Dr. Steve Gorn

3 p.m.  
Feel the remarkable power of Kimberly  
Kriegel as she lets her charged healer talents  
in the hot TV series, *Extreme Makeover*  
Question-and-answer period follows  
4 p.m.  
Allegory? Hear Them Chimed At Abilities —  
Presented by clinical hypnotherapist Linda  
Gabril and author Robert Truelove

5 p.m.  
Conception And Waterpolo! All You Need  
Is Love About Your Ability to Reproduce  
Presented by Dr. Kim Cadddy  
5 p.m.  
Mindspare: For Abilities to Refreshed  
Entertaining hosts Babsi and Babsi  
Daniels along with guest Linda Gabril  
Question-and-answer period follows  
6 p.m.  
Art And Chemistry: A Surprising Emotional  
Relationship by entomologist Dr. Lucy Wilder

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: A Whole Of Abilities by life  
coaches, Kevi Baker Morello and Laura Weis  
7 p.m.  
An Evening Of Classic Lily Songs  
by one of North America's foremost  
classical singer and answer period follows

11 a.m.  
Style Spots: Mind's Eye by hair stylist and  
interior designer consultant Michael Burnett

11 a.m.  
Feelspare: Lengths by author, life coach and  
chiropractor Dr. Charles Berlin

11 a.m.  
Sister To The Bone by sports physiotherapist and  
personal trainer Jacqueline F. Taylor

11 a.m.  
Making A World Of Difference by life coaches  
Kevi Baker Morello and Laura Weis

12 noon  
Mind And Culture by Babsi Daniels, host and  
co-star of HGTV's *Debbie Travis' Fixer*.  
Question-and-answer period follows  
Presented by Chatabasis

12 noon  
Total Body Training: A New Approach  
To Staying Fit by Canadian tennis and  
Olympic champion Mark McRae

12 noon

12 noon  
Beautiful Skin Without The Surgery  
by dermatologist Dr. Paul Cohen

12 noon  
The Art Of Fragrance by fragrance expert  
Naia Morello  
Question-and-answer period follows  
Presented by Unilever Cosmetics  
International General

12 noon  
Mind Facts You Didn't Know About Multiple  
Sclerosis by medical research analyst  
Dr. Jason Burford-Masse

1 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Secret To Find A Life Without With STOTT  
PILATES master, creator and program  
director Babsi Daniels

1 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

1 p.m.  
Rejuvinate And Realign Your Skin by cosmetologist  
Rebecca Rosselot  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

1 p.m.  
How To Reduce Your Men By One Marrow  
Rebecca Rosselot

Presented by The Inner Power Series

1 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Art Of Generation by Judy Kuskin  
and Katie McLean, authors and co-founders of  
Rejuvinate

2 p.m.  
Re! Live: New Talking About Health  
by health experts Dr. June Regin, Charles Ciosek  
and Linda Gabril, editor in chief of Today's  
Parent

2 p.m.  
Doubts From Behind The Glass by  
internist writing her chapter John Donald  
Ping Shui: Cutting Through The Mystery  
of Chinese Healing Feng Shui experts  
Katherine and Ross Laoer

2 p.m.  
Mindspare: For Abilities To Refreshed  
Entertaining hosts Babsi and Babsi  
Daniels along with guest Linda Gabril  
Question-and-answer period follows  
3 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Art Of Generation by Judy Kuskin  
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Rejuvinate

3 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

3 p.m.  
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Rebecca Rosselot

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Rebecca Rosselot

3 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

3 p.m.  
CUT IT! Skills Which Teach A Live Tasting of  
Herbivore Foods, featuring Women Related The  
Magazine with Glynnis Jones editor Kim Pilkington  
and Linda Lewis, editor in chief of Today's  
Parent

3 p.m.  
Doubts From Behind The Glass by  
internist writing her chapter John Donald  
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Presented by The Inner Power Series

3 p.m.  
Rejuvinate And Realign Your Skin by cosmetologist  
Rebecca Rosselot

4 p.m.  
Tot The Bone: Life With Fitness Instructor and  
Top Trainer Billy Blanks

4 p.m.  
Weight Loss Made Easier: Discover The Foods  
That Work Against You by nutritionist  
Barbie Caselmann

4 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Life-Affirming Documentary  
by June Regin, author of *A Friend Indeed*

4 p.m.  
Ping Shui: Cutting Through The Mystery  
of Chinese Healing Feng Shui experts  
Katherine and Ross Laoer

4 p.m.  
Your Prescription For Aging Well  
by cosmetic dermatologist Pamela, manager of  
community relations at Shoppers Drug Mart

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: The Art Of Generation by Judy Kuskin  
and Katie McLean, authors and co-founders of  
Rejuvinate

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Rejuvinate And Realign Your Skin by cosmetologist  
Rebecca Rosselot

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Identity Theft: How You Can Prevent It  
by security consultant Lloyd Venegaz  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Feeling Less, Life And Happiness by clinical  
hypnotherapist Linda Gabril  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Not All Colds Are Created Equally  
by nutritionalist Francesca Bonelli

5 p.m.  
Tot The Bone: Life With Fitness Instructor and  
Top Trainer Billy Blanks

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

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Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.  
Rejuvinate And Realign Your Skin by cosmetologist  
Rebecca Rosselot

5 p.m.  
Mindspare: How You Can Prevent It  
by dietary consultant Linda Vaughn  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

11 a.m.  
Follow the remarkable journey of Cyndee  
Laundered as her life is changed forever  
thanks to the *It TV* series, *Extreme Makeover*.  
Question-and-answer period follows

11 a.m.  
Bridal & You with STOTT PILATES master  
instructor and creator Naia Morello

11 a.m.  
Using Credit And Credit Cards Wisely by  
leading business journalist Deloris McRae  
Presented by CIBC Visa

12 noon  
How To Soothe Your Man by sex therapist  
Rebecca Rosselot

12 noon  
Conception And Waterpolo! All You  
Need To Know About Your Fertility by  
reproductive biologist Dr. Carl A. Lash

12 noon  
Total Body Training: A New Approach  
To Staying Fit by Canadian tennis and  
Olympic champion Mark McRae

12 noon  
Spa Dentistry And Sleep Skin Solutions  
by dental specialist Dr. Diane Carlson

1 p.m.  
Recent Milestones: New Solutions To A  
Recovering Periodontist by reproductive  
biologist Dr. Carl A. Lash

1 p.m.  
Rejuvinate And Realign Your Skin  
— The Final Connection by cosmetologist  
Rebecca Rosselot

1 p.m.  
Tot The Bone: Life With Fitness Instructor and  
Top Trainer Billy Blanks

1 p.m.  
Re! Glass Live! With Fitness Instructor And  
Top Trainer Billy Blanks

2 p.m.  
Breathe! Skin Without The Surgery  
by dermatologist Dr. Paul Cohen

2 p.m.  
Not All Colds Are Created Equally  
by nutritionalist Francesca Bonelli

2 p.m.  
Aviating Skin by dermatologist Dr. A.B. Lubitz  
Presented by The Inner Power Series

2 p.m.  
Health And Beauty For Women  
by Heather Hobbs, publisher of *Posit Up!*

Friday from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
Saturday from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
Sunday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

## ADVANCE TICKETS ON SALE NOW!

Buy one LIFEfest ticket at the full price of \$20 (taxes included).  
In advance at any Shoppers Drug Mart location and additional tickets can  
be purchased at 50% off.

### USE YOUR OPTIMUM POINTS TO MAKE THE PURCHASE!

Offer available only at Shoppers Drug Mart in advance of the event.  
All tickets purchased at the gate will be full price. Children 14 and under  
are admitted free when accompanied by an adult.

### ACCOMMODATION

Blocks of rooms have been set aside for LIFEfest visitors at two hotels  
that are close to the Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

To book a room at the InterContinental Toronto Centre — 775 St.  
225 Front Street West and directly adjacent the Metro Toronto  
Convention Centre — call 1-800-422-7963. Rates are \$199 a night.

Or make a reservation at the Stratford Hotel, which is at 60 York Street  
— a half mile from the convention centre — by calling 1-800-268-8204.  
Rooms start at \$115 a night.

For further information, visit our website at [www.LIFEfest.ca](http://www.LIFEfest.ca)



### By car from the West

Take the 401 East to 427 South. Follow  
the Gardiner Expressway east toward  
Toronto and exit at Spadina Avenue. Go  
north to Front Street and turn right.

### By car from the East

Take the 401 West to the Don Valley  
Parkway South. Follow the Gardiner  
Expressway west to Spadina Avenue. Go  
north to Front Street and turn right.

### By public transit

Statistics, buses, subways and GO  
trains connect all parts of Toronto and  
cycling access to Union Station, the  
city's transportation hub. Union Station  
is accessible from the Metro Toronto

Convention Centre via the Skywalk, a  
weather-protected walkway. For more  
information, visit the GO Transit or  
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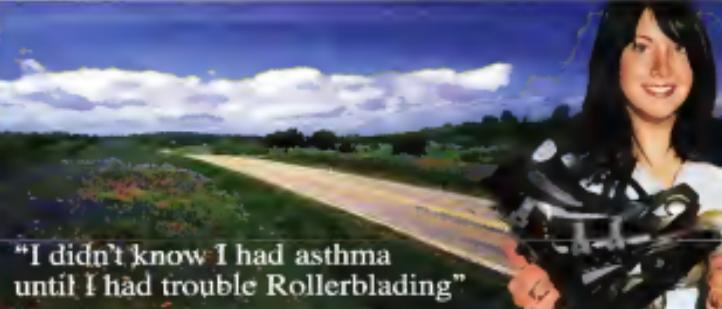
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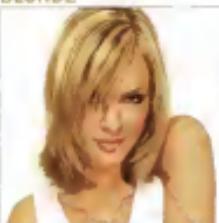
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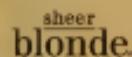
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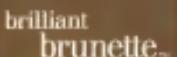
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There is notable opposition, no reformers will be able to influence the government and initiate reforms—there is no strong grassroots movement to do that."

Vasquez Peralta lives in Havana, where, due to the electricity, noise is heard from most windows, pre-revolution. Defectors and exiles spend clouds of black dust, and the neighbors are as noisy as it never was. But his life is far removed from the far south. Taurito rarely ventures into Alamar, the sprawling, working-class suburb of preeling, poor housing blocks, littered with sandbags and sun-scorched streets where Vasquez Peralta's apartment is, 10 km east of the postcard downtown. "Taurito comes to Cali for the good times,

buys and spends, runs businesses, a tiny zoo."

The small, fifth-floor walk-up where he lives with his wife and the youngest of their four children is almost bare. They've started going every furniture and appliances, because the government confiscates everything when they leave for exile later this spring.

"They can leave. Years ago, Vasquez Peralta had been granted entry to the U.S., but the Cuban government keeps denying human exit visas. It finally arrived—several weeks after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, which prompted the U.S. to reconsider many of its immigration rules and procedures. Vasquez Peralta now hopes to negotiate the red tape and leave for Denver, Colo., sometime in May (even English, find work, earn a new life,

overseas in Cuba has not fled the world's imagination. It certainly hasn't stemmed the flow of foreign visitors, mainly from Europe and Canada, which broke the two-million mark for the first time last year.

"Doch understood why world opinion supported Mbeki's stand in Chile, Argentina, South Africa or Eastern Europe but remained mostly indifferent to the plight of Cubans," says Orlando Pineda. "There is no permeability here—opposition is going unheeded." Pineda, leader of the Vuelta Project—a petition enabling the rounds in Cuba, demanding more democracy and freedom—is the most famous and best-connected of all Cuban dissidents. So the first question is: how is it usually, why is he not in jail with the



**Putting his opposition to the Cuban regime on display, Vasquez Peralta (left) and his wife, Taurito (right), have dedicated their lives to leaving the country.**

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but for Cubans, she is like a prison," he says. "People here don't have say today."

Vasquez Peralta was a journalist for the *feld Caldas* press, but he resigned in 1998 and started writing columns, demanding a free press and free elections, in *Cubadebate*, an independent newsagency launched by his colleague Raúl Rivero (who was also arrested in March 2003 and released last November). That initiative was eventually confiscated, but also finished. Two years ago, "on March 19," Vasquez Peralta recalls, "14 men from security came, searched my apartment down to the bags' nests, and took me away." A few weeks later, he was in *Buenavista* prison in Santiago de Cuba, 900 km away from home. Solitary confinement—"but I was not really alone," he says, "because there were

"The road is really very difficult," he says, "because my nose, my family and friends and culture are all here. But I feel totally useless in Cuba, because there is nothing I can do to help my country. Only the Cuban government would understand that I have the right to speak my mind, and to fight for my ideas, without being forced into exile."

The sweep of the 75 detainees two years ago triggered protests and indignation among the vast majority—Cuban exiles, and human rights activists and organizations such as *Reparto* (Bolivia) and *Amnistía* (Argentina). It also caused a diplomatic chill—dubbed the *cocktail war*—between the Castro regime and members of the European Union when EU embassy officials began visiting Cuban detainees to show their sympathies. But the human rights

other? Pineda stops just short of saying he'd rather have been arrested too. "I was not hiding," he says. "When the swing began, I was here, waiting for the sun. There were journalists and journalists across the door, waiting too." It's not clear whether Pineda was spared by his relative celebrity abroad, or if by deliberately ignoring him the regime was trying to undermine his credibility.

So what now? Pineda has reached the same conclusion as Vasquez Peralta: nothing will happen while Castro is still running the island. "The thing today is to remain looking for change; to happen without external confrontation or civil war, with out foreign intervention, and without the economic and social phenomena witnessed in Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism," he says. And



How can that be done when the regime has outlawed political meetings and parades? In a country where information is controlled, Peña says Cubans have to start from the ground up. "Our approach is to form discussion groups, where people can debate such issues as health care and education, civil rights, the future of the armed forces. Our objective is to create a transition program, and to facilitate a certain awareness of economic issues."

Over the past few years, there have been some slight changes in Havana. Smoking is now prohibited at bars and restaurants. Workers in the tourism industry have been asked to turn over their cell phones. But the strict separation between tourists and locals still endures. They live in parallel worlds, have different currencies, are not allowed to mingle. The U.S. dollar has been banned, replaced by convertible pesos—read at par with the greenback—although Cubans say that has had no significant impact on the underground economy.

More houses are being renovated in the old town. The pre-1898 American bar, held together with wire, tape and scotch tape—Cuban visitors—still draw people about, but there are more new rental cars and stores. O'Reilly Street, a major and decrepit shopping thoroughfare frequented mostly by locals, has been spruced up. "There's a bit more food and meat in the peso market," one woman says. More Spanish-speaking visitors from Latin America are occurring the tourist spots.

Under the surface, though, Peña says things are bleak. "The gap between rich and poor has widened in the past two years," he notes. "The better-educated people are leav-

ing some improvements in their living conditions, poor Cubans are not better off."

ing the country. The majority of the poor have no choice but to work the underground economy, risking prison to make ends meet. Delinquency, corruption, inefficiency have increased. We suffer severe economic oppression while an oligarchy is preparing to keep the benefits of the post-Castro era."

But the plight of the middle class—agitating for change—does not seem to be the

rule for average Cubans. "Life is not easy here, and getting by does not leave them

with much spare time for the fancy public

**THE human rights situation hasn't stemmed the flow of foreign visitors, which broke the two million mark last year**

debates we continue in our richer countries," says one observer. But Víctor Párraga says most people are watching television and the 13 other disasters were related last summer. In January, countries of the European Union eased their chill, and restored diplomatic relations with Cuba. Víctor Párraga is convinced that he and the others have been in an unwitting beginning stage. "I don't believe we were released for health reasons," he says. "There were men dying of TB and AIDS in cells neighbouring mine, and nobody cared about them." Whatever change does come to Cuba, it will have far

re

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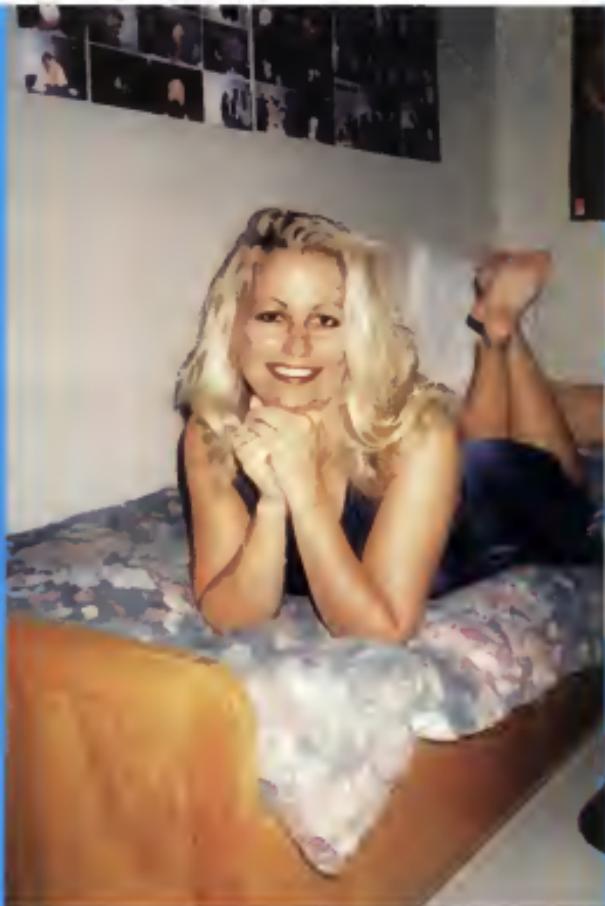
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seem to be  
that evidence

# KARLA HOMOLKA GIRL NEXT DOOR

**She's out in July.  
She could be your  
new neighbour.  
Should she be  
controlled?**

BY CHARLIE GILLIS

**IT WAS** a chance encounter, too fleeting for sight, but long enough to imprint itself on WHI Tonawanda's memory. The Edinboro police detective was standing in the corridor of Correctional Services' psychiatric facility in Sodus Bay when a female offender walked past, unaccompanied by a guard. Tonawanda was struck by the woman's appearance—tanned and well-rumored, she might have been an advertisement for the success of the country's prison system. As she drew near, however, it became clear that this was no one's picture perfect. "You're Kelsi, aren't you?" he asked, suddenly placing the face. To which Canada's most notorious woman responded with a coy smile. "Yeah," she said, "and don't I know you from somewhere?"<sup>15</sup>

Tonawanda is an expert when it comes to dealing with criminals. As a specialist in the behaviour of high-risk offenders, he routinely meets prisoners throughout Canada, interviewing some of the country's worst sex and violent offenders as they near their release dates. He'd never met Karla Homolka before, but with his professional curiosity piqued, he decided to make contact. "Was she completing a program at the centre?" Tonawanda asked. "How was it going well? How did she find the living conditions? "Not too bad," Tonawanda said at the time in standard issue clothes and cap in bland, institutional light. Homolka appeared healthy and happy, he observed. Their conversation lasted only a few moments, and there was no revelation about her future plans—Tonawanda remained "But it was interesting," he says. "Like a what you might have at the water cooler."

He might have known better. A few years later, Tonawanda casually mentioned the interview to a Toronto newspaper reporter who had called her about a different case. He

through he made it clear that Homolka had told her nothing about her future intentions. But to his honor, it's a story agreed is the day later quoting her, and implying that Homolka planned to settle in Alberta after her release. An upsurge ensued, and the divisive open days fielding calls from across the country, struggling to connect police colleagues, journalists and concerned citizens that the whole thing had been a misunderstanding. "The reaction was swift and demand," he says, "and the story seemed to take on a life of its own. I can't think of anyone in the country whose name sits up so much concern and interest."

**HE'S RIGHT.** Outrage, fear, overreaction—and let's admit it—prurient fascination all ate to the surface each time the words "Karla Homolka" surfaced in the national conversation, each time her face came exploding from an evening paper. The singer, actors, we can justify. The point of convincing Paul Bernardo for the murders of Reanne French and Leslie Mahabrey was Homolka's plain bargain, and we now know that price was shockingly high. Video that emerged after Homolka secured her deal in 1993 showed her not just participating but revelling in the torture of the two Ontario teenagers, plus the rape of a third woman.

Those images, along with news that Homolka participated in the fatal dragging and rape of her own 13-year-old son, Torrey, long ago laid bare in the theory that her Bernardo compatriots' forced participation of death to help them live on in memory of themselves, but by then she was out, following the vicious theory whole, Crown lawyers had forced Homolka's 13-year punishment on two counts of manslaughter. Bernardo, by contrast, was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison.

How quickly a dozen years have passed. On July 5, 2005, Homolka will walk free from Joliette Institution north of Montreal, a relatively young woman in 35, having paid just the debt society asked and completed almost nothing in the way of rehabilitation. Because she was deemed a risk to mollified, she was denied mandatory release two-thirds of the way through her sentence, meaning she'll be exempt from the parole restrictions meant to ease an offender's integration into mainstream society. As a result, her release poses a daunting array of moral questions. Do we have a right to place extra restrictions

## DENIED STATUTORY RELEASE, HOMOLKA WILL BE EXEMPT FROM PAROLE RESTRICTIONS MEANT TO EASE THE WAY BACK INTO SOCIETY

on someone we know pulled a fast one on the justice system? Or should we allow her—even help her—slip back into society in the hope of helping her rehabilitation? Do we treat her every move? Or keep a respectful distance, knowing that 12 years in prison have persuaded her to mind her ways?

The answer will already be choices. The most educated speculation has Homolka staying in Quebec, where language and cultural differences supposedly muted the media coverage of her case, and where she'll least be noticed. Another rumor says she will flee overseas, returning to a country where her fate is unknown. Or sneak into the United States, using an illegal identity to cross the border and living out her life under a pseudonym. Or worse, all is possible: Homolka hasn't been able to get her plans off the ground since her interview request by MacLeod, and her family declined comment, and given enough cash and the right underground contacts, we

could probably all count ourselves.

But in varying degrees, the rumors are the based on misconceptions about Homolka, about the law, about the ease of disappear-

ing when 32 million people are watching.

### MYTH 1: KARLA HOMOLKA WILL EMERGE FROM PRISON WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED.

From a more or less point of view, Homolka is a rarity. Less than five per cent of inmates are held back past their statutory release dates. And it's almost unheard of for female offenders to serve their entire terms, as she's done. The reasons for this are rooted in Canada's correctional philosophy, which holds that it's better to parole offenders and supervise their reintegration than release them after full sentence, when the state is virtually powerless to impose conditions.

For that reason, provincial justice officials from Ontario will almost certainly agree

head an application under Section 810 of the Criminal Code, which allows the courts to place restrictions on anyone they have reasonable grounds to think will injure another person. "We're going to look at every legal avenue before her release," Michael Bryant, Ontario's attorney general, told reporters in December, "that may be put in place to protect the public." Such a order would typically require violent sexual criminals who have served their entire terms, but if granted by a judge, an order against Homolka would apply wherever in Canada the act down the road, imposing a set of conditions to prevent her from, say, consorting with sex offenders, doing drugs or spending time with youths. If she failed to comply, she would go back to prison for up to two years.

Other provinces—mainly in the Prairie provinces—have taken that way—are taking steps for the statutory release legislation. Quebec's bylaw, if necessary, to lodge the 810 application themselves before the囚犯从 prison in their jurisdiction, they're merely waiting word from Ontario, where she committed her crimes, says spokesman Mathieu Richard. Ron Stevens, Bryant's counterpart in Alberta, sent a Section 810 order as the only practical means of keeping track of Homolka should she decide to move between jurisdictions. A Section 810 order would require Homolka to keep police informed of her whereabouts, he notes, and "any justice minister

would like to know if this type of offender was coming to their province."

The question is whether they can convince a provincial court judge. Homolka, after all, was never convicted of sexual assault, and whatever province might be asked to control her movements would be required to show reasonable grounds that it'd be more or less safe. Early psychiatric assessments of her seemed to accept the "compliant victim" theory that underlay her plea bargain, treating her as a battered woman rather than a sexual deviant. These findings, made public recently in a book by author Stephen Williams, show that at least one doctor determined Homolka not to be a psychopath, as many of her detractors suggest.

Still, it's difficult to imagine the court siding with the defense. In its final assessment of her file in December 2004, the parole board veered from that, if reluctantly. It noted that would commit a crime involving "death or serious harm" to another person. In its 2003 assessment, the board had noted that she earned a relationship with a male inmate during a brief stay at St-Anna's prison in 2002, which "rapidly became sexual."

### MYTH 2: WITH A NEW NAME, HOMOLKA COULD REINVENT HERSELF AND SIMPLY DISAPPEAR.

It's a popular theory, probably born of Hollywood fantasy but with some solid basis

in real life, and they had a Bernardo-style field day with Homolka's "black widow" trial. Constant front-page treatment of the story transfixed readers, driving hundreds to gather outside the courthouse during the proceedings. Back became a household name across the country.

She was convicted of manslaughter in her husband's death, but had a weaker conviction in her husband's death overthrown. Then, after serving 12 years of her life sentence, she got a ticket-of-leave release and emerged from prison armed with a new identity supplied by Abu Izzadeen, a senior member of the National Parole Board who felt she deserved a fresh start. It would be 13 years before she was sent back again. In his 2003 book, *From Infamy: The Untold Story of Evelyn Dick*, author Bruce White revealed that Dick had married a wealthy man and moved to Western Canada,

successfully evading attempts by private detectives hired by the press to track her down. If she's still alive today, she'd be 84.

Confronted with the same trial? "I don't think so," says White, who never actually met Dick, but got his information through intermediaries. "Even if she had the help of everyone in power keeping her secret, these days police go around advertising when an offender's about to get out of jail." Moreover, staying out of the public gaze demands a level of self-discipline White's not sure Homolka possesses. Even Dick's second husband never learned her true identity, he notes.

That said, Texas law enforcement may yet play a role in Homolka's story. The notorious wife supplanted Dick as Canada's most notorious female offender has reportedly had the violent wife—and to White's embarrassment—describes it as her "favourite book." —CB

## A KILLER VANISHES

Evelyn Dick served 11 years—then disappeared

Before Homolka there was Evelyn Dick, the dark-eyed 26-year-old whose trial for the so-called "Horse-Blind"谋杀案 shocked the country—yet whose death claim to fame may be the disappearing act she performed after getting out of prison.

Dick was tried for murder in 1984 after the body of her husband, John, minus brain and head, was found on the escarpment overlooking the remains of her infant son, Peter, who had been found encased in concrete in a suitcase in her attic. It was the golden



## KARLA'S EVIL WAYS

Hidden videotapes and the Crown's 'deal with the devil'

**MAY 4, 1978:** Karla Homolka is born to Karen and Donald Homolka in Mississauga, Ont.

**MAY 1982:** A young Etobicoke, Ont., woman is found in the first of a series of sexual assaults by Paul Bernardo, depicted like the *Scarface* Borgia.

**OCT. 17, 1987:** Homolka, 17, meets Bernardo, 23, at a St. Catharines hotel restaurant. While there, the pair have sex.

**JAN. 1989:** According to Homolka's high school yearbook, her biggest dream is "to marry Paul and live like him—about twice a week."



**OCT. 23, 1990:** Homolka's youngest son, Yannick, is drugged to her and Bernardo, and raped while unconscious at the basement of the Homolka family's St. Catharines, Ont., home. She chores at her own vanity and gives the death to naked as ascertained.







## **LIGHT, BRIGHT AND FREE**

## Commuter dailies look for elusive young readers

**RIGHT NOW**, in a custom-designed, purple-and-lime-green office in north Toronto, a gaggle of twenty-something journalists and marketing pros are preparing to unleash what they're calling a "revolution in Canadian media." That "revolution" is *Dose*, Corus Global's new free daily magazine, aimed at a hip, young readership, and the hype surrounding it is palpable. *Dose's* headline—an oasis of colour within the overwhelming banality of the National Post—carries the feeling of self-congratulatory exuberance of young

typical four-cent stamp up since 1999. Music plays in the background. Cordboards cover the walls, should staff members feel compelled to put up stamp art for possible punishment. The marketing director, estimated at 28, is choosing conspicuously on Latin Beat straight from the box. The only thing missing, it seems, is a fast-food table and a live large-screen sports-broadcast monitor.

In the last decade, free dailies, usually designed for public-train commuters with nothing else to pass the time, have been popping up in cities all over the world. Short on text and large on visuals, these tabloid-style publications are increasingly targeting Internet-savvy young adults who are drawn to their easy-to-digest format and are less likely than previous generations to buy conventional newspapers.

Done, set to launch in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Ottawa on April 4, will consist of a daily newspaper magazine, a weekly media journal and a website produced for and by 18-to-34-year-old urbanites. The brand will have a snazzy—the kind fans of Jim Stewarts and George Stroumboulopoulos might appreciate—and strong emphasis on design (a play on the whole “fully doozy” thing, they’ve coined a phrase: *boldly-themed*—colorful photo-essays delivered daily by the Sun Media Corp., and the more testy-heavy *Metroplex* (880,000) a joint venture between Sunstar Corp. and Smithfield-owned Metro International S.A. Metro is also in Montreal, in partnership with *Montreal* serial Inc., and is mentioned to be launching editions in Vancouver and Ottawa. In British Columbia, *B.C. Press Ltd.* recently announced it would launch seven new feet down the *prospective* to add to the

## ACADEMICS

that declining readership among youth and rising demand for bite-sized news are signs of apathy

**Canada.** In Ontario, for example, *Dose* (with a circulation of 520,000 nationally) will be competing for eyeballs and ad dollars with 25 *Hoover* (re-circulation figures available), a colorful photo-driven free daily owned by the Sun Media Corp., and the more teary-eyed *Metro-Journal* (800,000), a partnership between Quebec City and Sudbury-owned *Metro International* S.A. *Metro* is also in Montreal, in partnership with *Toronto Star* serial Inc., and is rumored to be launching editions in Vancouver and Ottawa. In British Columbia, Black Press Ltd. recently announced it would launch seven new free dailies around the province to add to the



now already runs in the Guangxi Valley. Our premise is to reuse aggressively your focused by providing content in multiple platforms. In website, for example, will feature breaking news, a local search tool and a news channel; its wireless portal will provide instant access to news reading, games and ring tones. Carlsten has handed the operation to Noah Godfrey, 38, a Harvard Business School grad formerly employed in corporate strategy at AOL Time Warner. Godfrey turned into the job last fall when he was recruited as publisher by Cox Web CEO Leonard Asper and Rick Conder, president of CoxWeb Media.

Godfrey the rocket publisher says traditional media have left the age group "underserved".

Wojko. "They wanted someone in the target audience to take a lead in building a new media brand," Godfrey says.

The son of former Toronto Sun publisher and current *CanWest* director Paul Godfrey, Godfrey claims he can offer a unique perspective, having spent time in several newsrooms growing up (on the newsdesk, chargers of negotiations, Godfrey says). "People will say what they're going to say, but the product and how it's run will speak louder," he claims. The launch of *Bear*, he says, is a no-brainer for

CanWest: "It's a matter of looking at the market and seeing that the needs and preferences of twenty-something Canadians just aren't being met."

Some industry observers claim that Dear is mainly Carter's attempt to keep up with the Joneses. And CIBC World Markets analyst Bob Beckman's conclusion that "firms like a strong competitor" is telling. Beckman, a former senior executive at Bell, says, "They're not exactly a great generator of cash." Still, Beckman says, when all of your biggest competitors are taking the plunge, it may be worth it to "take your share of what business there might be in the market." And companies are buying.

guide. While no definitive numbers on the goings-on are available, media buyers say free sites do give advertisers access to a lucrative demographic. "They're active, they're mobile and they're at a stage of their life when they're acquiring things," says David Campbell, president and CEO of Media buying Service in Toronto.

The slow erosion of youth readership is a growing problem for traditional media. According to the Newspaper Audience Data Bank, only 45 per cent of 18- to 34-year-old readers currently read a newspaper every day, compared to 63 per cent in 1986. Historically, papers have tried to lure young readers back by featuring up-to-date celebrity, sports and entertainment coverage. In some cases, they've even tried adding special youth by youth sections, generally with little success.

The real problem is a generational shift in how people consume information. "The younger audience was raised on the Internet and likes the breadth of news coverage, but in a digestible format," says Bill French, CEO of Alstro. French. Also, he says, young people are used to getting their information for free online.

Some students fear the decline in newspaper readership among youth and the rise demand for bite-sized, dink-sized current affairs are signs of apathy and disinterest in current affairs. But marketing experts suggest it's more a product of the prolonged adolescence of many young people now experiencing—they're staying in school and living at home longer, and getting married, kids and purchasing houses. So the economy, elections, interest rates—they just don't see how these things affect them. "The truth is that a lot of hard news isn't relevant to them until they are much older," says Mark Valigra, president of the youth marketing firm *saturation*.

Anne Hignell of the Canadian Newspaper Association says free distribution can get more people into the habit of reading a newspaper. When their lives change, she says, they're more likely to graduate to a traditional daily. The staff of *Deurns* is well positioned to grab readers before they graduate: "We've started this thing from scratch," says Hagen. "And we have completely dedicated ourselves to this audience." It remains to be seen whether young readers and nonreaders that dedication will



## PROSECUTING A CULTURE

As the WorldCom fraud trial shows, it's tough to hold CEOs accountable

**POOR BERNIE EBBERS** lost a lot of friends when the WorldCom fraud was revealed three years ago. But now, all he needs is one sympathetic soul on a jury of 12. Over the past few weeks, the Edmondson-born former CEO of WorldCom has been on trial, facing up to 15 years in the slammer, for his alleged role in the company's \$35 billion accounting scandal. The thousands of victims of the subsequent collapse—from the employees who lost their jobs to the bankers and investors who lost their money—all want to see Ebbers be-

hind bars. But it's looking increasingly likely that those people are in for a disappointment.

At the end of last week, the jury still hadn't reached a verdict. That after six days of deliberations, a conviction meant like a long shot, getting longer every day. And that has big implications for all the other cases still plodding through in the U.S. and Canada who have yet to face their day in court.

The prospect of acquittal is tough to swallow for those learned by WorldCom's many failings. The court of public and media opinion passed judgment on Ebbers soon after the fraud was uncovered. But isolating personal culpability in the complicated web of power and influence that can now only enter. In the WorldCom case and others, prosecutors find themselves putting a corporate culture on trial as much as an individual. Lawyers rarely consider this key moment when memo over memo explicit agreements to do crime. And that could mean the few of the CEOs implicated in recent scandals will ever be convicted of a crime.

The switch star witness against

as a demanding boss, but never one to micromanage details. The former basketball coach, restaurateur and marathon runner with all the "aw shucks" country charm that became his trademark in the 1990s as he built one of the world's biggest telecommunications companies based in his adopted home of Mississippi. Only that time, his modesty was unusually used to his defense strategy.

Ebbers' defense in WorldCom were based on consensus, and that he generally stuck to rules, leaving matters of finance and technology to the experts in his team. "I know what I don't know, and, to this day, I don't have technology, don't know finance and accounting. I focused on the part that I thought I could handle," he said.

Ebbers' version of events was supported by Cynthia Cooper, the internal audited

**EBBERS** testified with all the "aw shucks" country charm that was his trademark. Only this time, his modesty was intricately tied to his defense strategy.

who discovered the fraud. She pointed out Ebbers as a naming bully, but said Ebbers had agreed to testify against his old boss. Self-litigation ruled about being under constant pressure to meet profit targets. He said that he'd warned Ebbers about weakening norms and questionable accounting entries, and that Ebbers never responded by saying "we have to hit our numbers." Sulliven took those words in order to lie, but Ebbers never really said that. Sulliven's admitted history of drug use and dubious data didn't help his credibility.

On the stand, Ebbers portrayed himself

as a demanding boss, but never one to micromanage details. The former basketball coach, restaurateur and marathon runner with all the "aw shucks" country charm that became his trademark in the 1990s as he built one of the world's biggest telecommunications companies based in his adopted home of Mississippi. Only that time, his modesty was unusually used to his defense strategy.

He didn't do his former CEO, Richard Scrushy, a currency on trial and end-of-trial-related charges, and he too is dimming. His star witness' legal loss in the dark shadow of the company's accounting distortions. That theme is sure to be repeated when Ebbers' former leaders finally go to trial early next year. So far, no evidence has emerged, at least not publicly, to impugn Ebbers' or CEO's honesty and just how deeply they were directly involved in that company's fraudulent activities. There again,

the prosecution will rely on the testimony of a former chief financial officer to impugn his honesty. And again, a connection is no sure thing.

New U.S. federal sentencing guidelines, established in 2004, have tried to eliminate this grey area by putting the onus on executives to figure an ethical outcome. The Sarbanes-Oxley laws suggest that CEOs could be held legally responsible if they fail to ensure proper behaviour. But defining an ethical culture in court will be a challenge for any prosecutor.

You don't have to be Clarence Darrow to spot a sentencing legal nerd here. The message to CEOs in trouble is obvious: When the regulations come knocking, and you're caught with some fudge in your numbers, don't plead guilty. Play dumb.

By Steve March writing "All Business," at [www.economist.com/ethicsense](http://www.economist.com/ethicsense)



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# BRACING FOR BIRD FLU

Health officials are talking pandemic. But does the science justify the scare?

**FOR MONTHS** now the warnings have been relentless that a virus that, rampage through Southeast Asia, could morph into a monster of monstrous proportions. Tens of millions of people could die, say the experts in no less esteemed institution than the World Health Organization and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. One widely quoted researcher in Pittsburgh went so far as to suggest that seven H5N1 strains could mutate and kill in mere as follows: people.

Currently, this particular strain has devastated commercial poultry flocks in Vietnam, Cambodia, South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong and large parts of China. It has also killed 42 of the 85 people known to have been infected since January 2004. But while human fatalities are few, WHO and CDC are predicting H5N1 could trigger a massive global outbreak to rival the worst pandemic in history—the 1918 Spanish flu, which killed between 20 million and 50 million people in two years. That raises an equally big concern: what if the experts are wrong?

This much is true: H5N1 has a lot of people worried, and for a host of good reasons. Still, a significant segment of the health care community questions whether this particular bird flu will be the one that triggers a pandemic. Skeptics argue another virus could trump H5N1—and render today's multi-million-dollar vaccine investment worthless. Yet the warnings keep coming. Last month, Dr. Julie Gerberding, director of the CDC, told a Washington gathering that this concern is one of the "most important threat we are facing right now."

Twodays later, she had the confirmation at Yunnan, Dr. Shigeru Oishi, the WHO's regional director for Asia and the Pacific, and the planet "now in the greatest possible danger of a pandemic."

Neither the flu nor the threat of a pandemic should be taken lightly, says Dr. Richard Schabas, chief of staff at York Central Hos-



**Health workers**  
in Yunnan, China, dispose of dead chickens

pit in Richmond Hill, Ont., and a former chief medical officer of health for Ontario. What Schabas objects to is the "highly alarmist rhetoric" employed by the CDC and WHO, based as he sees it on imperfect science. "I think they're doing it because it helps them get their budgets approved and pushes them into the limelight," says

Schabas. Saying this virus is about to cause a human pandemic, he adds, "goes well beyond any good science."

Schabas isn't alone. Eric Toner, a University of Texas professor who specializes in flu virus evolution, says that while H5N1 concerns him, suggestions it could kill one in six people on the planet are way out of

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### Health | >

line. "We really just don't have enough data and predictive power to say it's going to do that," says Brown. As such, critics such as Atlanta-based Wendy Orrin, an anthropologist and author, say the nation's flu pandemic is long over due. She doesn't stand up to logic given we have only a vague idea of how quickly these things occur. "You know how many times they've been associated with that?" asks Orrin. "Since 1978 and seven flu people have been saying we're in need of a flu pandemic. Well, where is it?"

These characteristics guarantee a pandemic: the virus has to be new enough that there are no definitive antibodies built up in the human population, it has to be deadly, which

happens, "and it would be about 4-6 months to produce the stunning 12 million" to inoculate everyone in Canada, which is the government's intention.

The 1918 Spanish flu killed so massively because of circumstances unlikely to repeat themselves, argues Paul Fauci, an evolutionary biologist at the University of Louisville in Kentucky. During the First World War, ill-fated soldiers were too weak to leave their beds and the front lines, landed onto packed transports and shipped to overflowing hospitals. Many were sent home aboard packed ships. The flu spread horizontally.

But today, despite international air travel and crowded cities with their packed con-

ditions, would preserve its lethality. So far, those people who have become sick appear to have contracted the virus through eating undercooked poultry, slaughtering infected birds, or contact with chicken feces. Massive doses of the virus seem to be required to infect humans.

The H5N1 virus was first discovered in Hong Kong in 1997, where one of 18 hospitalized patients died. Infection was linked to bird farms and market trading with live poultry. It disappeared before re-emerging in 2003. Wild ducks, largely immune, spread the virus among other fowl. H5 and H6 refer to proteins on the surface of the viral particle, and there are at least 15 H11 types. Present only H5, H6 and H3-type viruses have infected humans with any efficacy. So who can say H5 will be able to do the same?

There have been three avian pandemics in the past century: 1918 and two milder outbreaks, which nevertheless killed millions, in 1957 and 1968. Then there was the swine flu scare of 1976. A flu outbreak among soldiers at Fort Dix, N.J., was found to be related to the 1918 strain. One soldier died. Fifty million Americans were inoculated, even though early signs suggested the flu wasn't spreading. That vaccine was then shown to cause Guillain-Barré syndrome, a neurological disorder similar to polio that wound up killing at least 32 people.

In a typical year, up to two million people die of the around the world. In a bad year, about 30,000 Canadians die, usually directly with respiratory infections. Health Canada estimates between 10,000 and 50,000 Canadians could perish in a broad pandemic—the wide range is a collection of the uncertainty in making predictions like this.

Are we better to be safe than sorry? The WHO and CDC take legitimate concerns, and it's always better to be prepared. "That said, after such a prolonged agony of wait, will the response be adequate if a big outbreak doesn't arrive for seven years yet?" "What I've found is that, behind the scenes, many public health officials are distancing themselves from that global concern factor," says Schatzberg. "It's not like terrifying some about smoking or HIV, where you're actually undergoing it or something about it," he says. "It's not like people do anything about avian influenza, a pandemic, except to worry about it."

**Helps to isolate when you're sick**  
with avian influenza during the 1918 epidemic

swine are rare, and it has to be easily transmissible by sneezing or coughing. Several outliers are now racing to develop a vaccine against H5N1, and the U.S. is hoping resort human trials this month. The bad news, though, is that H5N1 will have to mutate significantly before it can do real damage, which would make a vaccine useless on the virus's current genetic transmission nucleus.

The WHO wants countries to stockpile H5N1 vaccine, which the U.S. is planning to do. Canada intends to follow suit. Instead, will governments build drag and brace as a stopgap while it waits to see what vaccine is needed. Vancouver's ID Biomedical Corp. has been commissioned by Ottawa to develop a broad prototype. "When we get the actual pandemic strain, we'll be starting from zero," says Dean Loder, a company spokesman. The first precious dose would take about seven weeks to make,

sooner if more and of fewer, very ill people would simply be too sick to leave home, argues Fauci. That reduces the likelihood of spreading a debilitating virus. "If you're so sick you can't get out of bed," he says, "you're not going to get on that train in the first place, so it doesn't necessarily have to spread." It's also, says Fauci, viruses are strategic. Diseases are more virulent when they're more widespread, which don't leave their own propagation by taking off their host.

WHO claims there is no evidence to suggest H5N1 transmits efficiently between humans. It may well mutate to become more of a human disease, but biologists simply don't know enough about that process to guess whether a reshuffling of H5N1's genetic



WEISS,  
NOT  
RICHLER

A writer cautions that her fictional family is fictional

"**ALL YOU HAVE** as a writer is your experience and your imagination," says Enza Richter, "so that's what you do—you know the easy things, the colour of hair, the eyes." The author of the short-story collection *Sister Country* (2011) and now a first novel, *Read My Dear Dogs*, has a sensible, round-shouldered, expensively lace, and at the moment's interesting business composition and reading mission. She knows now, if she didn't before, her first Canadian tour, that you're the daughter of Cost in your Marianne Barber and her wife, Florence, sister to those prima-ballerine Richter brothers [and one under-the-radar sister], and you wrote two books about the fictional Weiss family [mother Frances, father Yeshua, two children], people will

And that's especially true with a memoir like *Heavy*. Weisz, middlechild and oldest girl, just like no surprise here—Elinor Bachler. The adult Jean mostly remembers herself as a talkatively vivacious, tangy rich and even funny childhood memoirist. But at times she sharply surfaces in the present, scowling biting, urgent references to sessions with her therapist, and the earthen jars she dashed in her own write. Some critics complained that these jars lacked stories of Sister Crisp didn't spell out why sister was crazy. While Bachler shrugs off—"I know the book was oblique, but I thought it had the right amount of obfuscation"—it's fair to note that *Am I My Dear Dog*, which is twice as long as *Heavy*, does have a conclusion that is at once brutal, clear and beautifully written.

However, elephant-in-the-room obvious as it may be, the JerryLevina question is disconcerting for a "deeply private" scenario. "My brother Noah once said to me, 'You know, I don't know anything about what you do!'"



After a short-story collection and a novel, Michael's finally in the movies. In *The Whistlers*.

and he's my closest brother—Nash and I can communicate across a room with just our eyes. (Journalist Nash Richter, for those keeping track, is a wife. Within the books.) Their third issue is also forthcoming for an author who believes writing is akin to alchemy: "Sunny people know it's fiction. I think the most interesting and mysterious part of me is already out there on the page." I remember her thinking when I learned *Sunny*, "Chris can't do this—it's the same as my family." But when I finished it, I knew there would be a powerful, more noscific story to come out about them. I had no choice in the matter. In the end, who knows what you'll write?

...son, now the writer, "in many ways, I feel much more like Harriet." Jen's young sister (Eenna's is Martha Richter). Harriet, after all, is an actress, as her creator once was. Born in 1961, the daughter of a Peacockstage regular



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## HI, I'M WAUBGESHIG. REALLY.

My grandmother revived tradition and gave me an Ojibwa name

ROLL CALL. First day of class. The prof walks his way down the list, reading aloud the names of those who've signed up for his politics elective. As he calls the fledgling journalists, engineers, graphic designers and computer programmers by their first names, the response is either some variation of "here" or silence. Then suddenly he pauses, a look of bewilderment crossing his face. He's clearly struggling with a name he has no idea how to pronounce. Although it's only been seconds, a bead of sweat emerges on his brow. Finally, he breaks

the silence with an exasperated, "Uhhhhh..."

That is my cue. "Um, that's probably me, sir," I pipe up from my corner in the back of the classroom. Relieved, he checks my name off the list. And I prepare for the slide show to follow up. "So, how do you pronounce that, anyway?"

I'm a couple of years removed from my university days still, but name has played out in some capacity thousands of hours during my nearly 15 years on Mother Earth. My first name is Waubgeshig—pronounced "wuh-GESSHIG"—an Ojibwa word that, roughly translated, means "white sky." However, there is a more spiritual connotation: "the colour of the sky at dawn." Given to me by my grandmother (from her father's name), it's a beautiful name and I'm extremely proud of it.

It's, of course, a very unusual name in non-Ojibwa circles. So to make conversation a little easier for freshly met friends and colleagues, I often go by "Wahl." For short. The life hasn't always been easy with an unconventional moniker. As a youngster growing up in the 1980s and '90s, I'd frequently try to convince others that I didn't have a speech impediment. "No, no, Rob-Wahl! I would get nervous joining a hockey or baseball team, knowing the inevitable confusion that would arise when naming any new team mates and coaches.

These days, I'm no longer bothered when someone doesn't catch my name the first time. And I never get frustrated trying to teach it as proper pronunciation and meaning. At times, it even works for me—having an unconventional name with a cool back-

people are the country's fastest growing demographic. Statistics Canada says 4.4 percent of the population, or 1.3 million people, identified themselves as having at least some Aboriginal ancestry in 2000, up from 3.8 percent in the 1991 census. Even so, traditional native languages remain in a state of decline, only three are expected to survive into the 21st century—Ojibwa, Cree and Inuktitut. But for the majority of Aboriginal adults, language retention is a very important issue, and using traditional names is one way to help keep the language alive in their ancestry forever.

One might assume that in a culturally diverse city such as Toronto, ethnic names like mine would be commonplace, but that's not yet the case. Canadians may be proud of our multiculturalism, the result of successive waves of immigration, first from Europe and then increasingly from Asia, but for years, Aboriginal culture has not been on the forefront. That, however, is finally changing among First Nations people eager to take their place in society at large. My non-native peers may soon encounter more names like mine and my brothers, Be-agamie or Wahngashig alone.

I submit that it is a basic spelling courtesy that everyone tries to get right the first time. I am in the phase during of final business. And with each new person I meet, I have to convince them that it is not "Wahngashig W." I often joke with friends that life would be much simpler if I lived under the name "Rob-Wahl," my non-native alter ego.

But when it comes down to it, I wouldn't trade my name for anything. I take pride in the fact that I share it with virtually no one else in the world. More important, being Waubgeshig keeps me in touch with, and firmly grounded in, my Ojibwa background. It is who I am.

Waubgeshig Rice is a Toronto-based writer. To comment, go to [www.chatelaine.com](http://www.chatelaine.com).



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# BACK TALK

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## New kings of Southern rock bring Heartbreak, get heartburn

The guys in Kings of Leon have come a long way about touring with Kellie over the month. "I hear they like Guiness," says leadman Jared Followill, 31. "I love beer, but I tried Guiness once and it was Maclean's size." Guitardude Caleb (now a dad) says Matthew Followill charms with "problem kids, we get inebriated easily." Well, these Southern rockers (two in the band are Jared's brothers Nathan, 26, on drums, and Caleb, 21, the lead singer) never stuck up on their own—and brain up on their touring chills, '98 Clinton and Tom Cruise were once

at a 425 show," says Jared. "So we might be hanging out with Kellie again."

The Nashville-based four-piece earned critical accolades for its 2003 debut, *From a Room*, and the recently released follow-up, *Aha Shake Heartbreak*. Impressive, considering the brothers grew up in the house of a Pentecostal preacher father, where rock music was forbidden; now, they're making up for lost time. "We've heard U2's classics but don't own any of their CDs," says Matthew, 29. "I guess we should probably buy one." JOHN INGLIS

## BUZZ LIST

**1. Silverspoon pens**  
and get paid for the best after-peal—and spans—of the year

**2. Her painted**  
mask of B. Le  
that hangs in her  
mission—giving her  
much more than year-average  
third husband

**KINGS OF LEON**  
Matthew (left) gives up family  
dinner for rock 'n' roll.

**3. The God**  
father dies;  
his daughter,  
and Queen  
Tara (right) get  
invited; emotions  
reverberate—they  
and legend  
Shawn Michaels, is due to  
host a girl of my

**4. The legendary**  
H.W. Bush  
is up right close, due  
to unpaid rent. Certainly the  
Romans, Blonde and Talking  
Heads—of whom got their  
start at the club—could know  
what it's like.

**5. Some of us**  
long for the  
return of *Private*  
Eye (left). *Visibility*  
sparks TV this  
week. But will  
it be for the  
return of the  
actress who played her, now  
starring in *The Upgrade of Anger*.

**6. His new solo CD**  
is *Six Seven*.  
Songs for Jim and me, he's  
not presenting his ongoing  
love for Blue Note partner  
Are Gandy—this one's  
dedicated to his late father





## Music | Toots is reggae's soul man

Since his death in 1987, Bob Marley has become a global icon, Marley's closest sibling, Peter Tosh, died in 1988. Marley's other sibling, Cedella (Toots) Hibbert is still living today. The frontman of Toots and the Maytals, who earned the genre with his 1968 single Do the Reggay—doesn't fit the image of the laid-back Rastafarian. "They say my style is more R&B," he admits. In fact, he's an explosive performer. His long hair is braided, as it always has been, and his skin is tanned, as it always has been. He wears his clothes like a modern-day Rastafarian, in a melange of colors, with the raw energy of a 60s Riddim or a Ray Charles. Toots' reggae will seduce Toots' a singer's stage. And last year a legend of



Bob Marley, *Wall Street Journal*, and others give him the title of 'legend'.

pears paid tribute to the 50-year-old legend on his latest album, True Love. They included Bruce Springsteen, Eric Clapton, Hall & Oates, Bob Dylan, and Willie Nelson, in one of the strongest duos since Jerry Garcia crooned *Get On Your Bike* with Bob Dylan.

Interviewed by phone—during a tour that will take him to Toronto and Montreal next week—Toots chattered about the high-spirited session with Dylan, another music's resident statesman. "With Bob Dylan, it's a good conversation, a contrasting pleasure." And the all-night studio session with Bruce was "a whole lota fun." He adds, as if that doesn't even begin to describe it. As for Marley, Toots says, "Bob was my friend. Who different? He has kids. I have kids but they're not living. Every strand of hair is curled a little. See there's no difference if we live the right way?" *Indy*

ERIN ST. JOHN

## TV | Genie night guilty pleasures

We know, we should support our own. Fight for a Canadian star system. Nominate Paul Gross as huge as *Ice Attack*, but still, we're excited about the Hollywood actors nominated for Genie this year. Will they show up? Will they win? Will they say great things about Canada? Find out March 21.



IAN McEWAN

Nominated for best actor, this British stage and screen legend (*Lord of the Flies*) initially turned down the title role in the Saskatchewan-set film *Emile*, because he felt he couldn't play a Canadian. Director Gert Ledoel changed the script and McEwan's mind.



JENNIFER JASON LEIGH

The single-when-Felicity star has remained close friends with Toronto director Don McKellar ever since they acted together in *obاشة* (1996). So Leigh was quick to take the role of a showbiz diva from which earned her a best actress nod in McKellar's latest, *Choke*.



KYLE MACLACHLAN

When Toronto raised filmmaker Ian Iqbal Studio saw the auteur in a London stage production of *Death of a Salesman*, he knew he'd found someone who embodied the spirit of *Grey Gardens*—and cast the best supporting actor nominees in *Teach of Pink*.



NICK STAHL

This Hollywood star (*Christopher &牛*) endured a brutal Toronto winter and slept on the couch while *Wrong Turn*, a movie written and directed by his best friend, Montreal-native Jason Tremblay. Stahl was rewarded with a best actor nod for his turn as a jaded male hustler.

► MORE THAN 1.5 MILLION pots of Balloons will be sold in Canada on St. Patrick's Day.

## Film | Some actors make lifeless robots

Robots are action packed. Toots vintage chick and features Miss Williams as the voice and anti-personality of an android named Fender. So why does this animated feature feel so lifeless at times? Well, there are too many characters—played by celebrities ranging from Eddie Berry to



Edie Brickell and the story about a young inventor (Dane Cook) genius meets corporate evil (Greg Kinnear), is too cerebral to allow for much whiz-bang or emotion. Most younger kids won't get the plot, puns or William's snark. For older viewers, though, let's not forget that keeps *Robot's* gears from grinding to a screech. *INTERVIEW*

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